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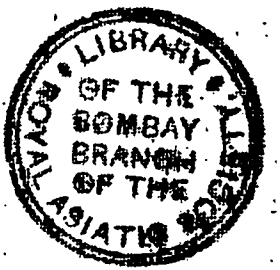
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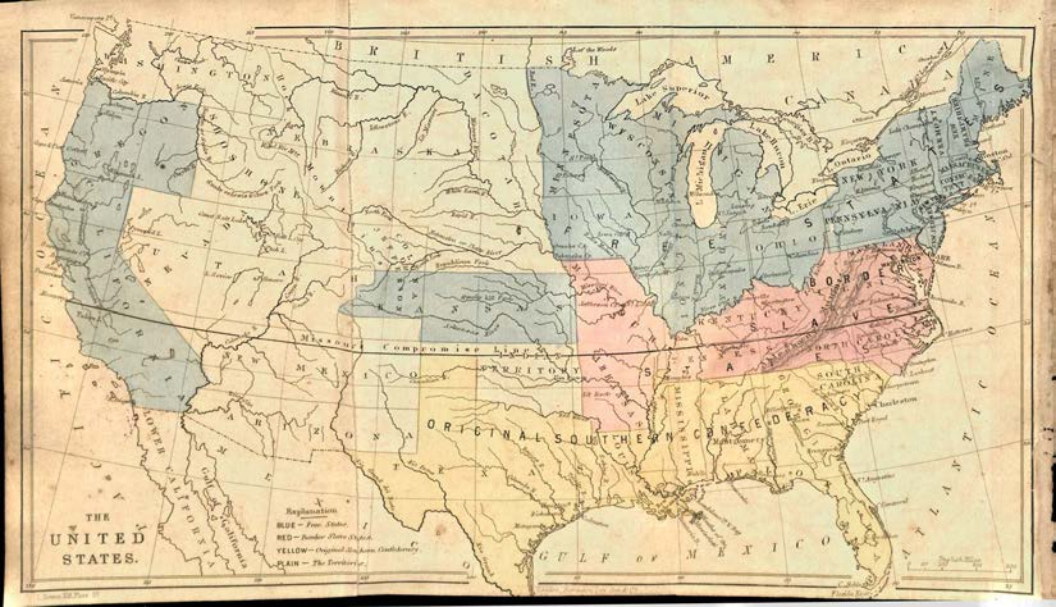
THE UNITED STATES.
Explanation.
BLUE — Free States.
RED — Border Slave States.
YELLOW — Original Southern Confederacy
PLAIN — The Territories.
Missouri Compromise Line
ORIGINAL SOUTHERN CONFEDERACY
BORDER SLAVE
FREE
TERRITORY
BRITISH AMERICA
UNITED STATES
MEXICO
GULF of MEXICO
PACIFIC OCEAN
ATLANTIC OCEAN
CALIFORNIA
UTAH
NEW MEXICO
KANSAS
NEBRASKA
MINNESOTA
IOWA
MISSOURI
ILLINOIS
WISCONSIN
MICHIGAN
OHIO
INDIANA
KENTUCKY
TENNESSEE
VIRGINIA
NORTH CAROLINA
SOUTH CAROLINA
GEORGIA
ALABAMA
MISSISSIPPI
LOUISIANA
TEXAS
ARKANSAS
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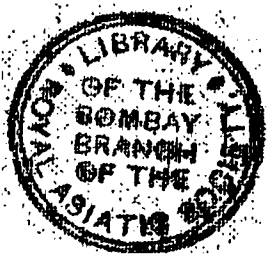
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SLAVERY AND [redacted]ON

IN

AMER[redacted]

HISTORICAL AND [redacted]

BY

THOMAS ELLIS[redacted]
AUTHOR OF "A HAND-BOOK OF T[redacted]

WITH MAP AND APPENDIC[redacted]

1861. VV 2 3

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SAMPSON LOW, [redacted]GATE HILL.
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PREFACE.

WHEN the momentous importance of the subject discussed in the following pages is considered, no apology is needed for their production.

The object of the Author has been to trace the origin and development of that antagonism between the Northern and Southern Sections of the American Republic which has brought about the present deplorable internal strife, and which, it seems probable, will result in the dissolution of the Union.

The reader will perceive that I look upon *slavery* and *secession* in the relation of cause and effect. I believe, and think I have shown, that the latter is solely the offspring of the former.

Some people say that slavery has had nothing to do with originating the present difficulties, but that it is the desire of the South to be free from the protective tariffs of the North which has caused it to rebel against the Union; whilst others say that neither slavery nor free-trade have had any hand in the matter, but that the whole affair is the work of a band of exasperated politicians, who have decided to deluge their country with blood

In writing "Slavery and Secession in America," the Author has been careful to consult the best and latest authorities on the question, and has quoted freely (with acknowledgment) from the speeches and writings of Americans actively engaged on the one side or the other of the contest. I may state that I have, here and there, made use of two articles written by myself; the one for the *Westminster Quarterly Review* of January, 1861, and the other for *Meliora* of April, 1860.

Liverpool, 3rd June, 1861.

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PART I.

HISTORY OF THE RISE AND PROGRESS OF SLAVERY IN THE UNITED STATES.

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HISTORY OF THE RISE AND PROGRESS OF SLAVERY IN THE UNITED STATES.

CHAPTER I.

From the Introduction of the Institution to the close of the Eighteenth Century.

Section 1. *Origin and Perpetuation of the Institution.—Diversity of Tastes between the New England and Southern Colonists.*

To Spain belongs the honour of the discovery of the great American Continent, and the first revelation of its vast natural capabilities and immense native wealth to admiring Europe. To the same nation is due the unenviable distinction of having introduced therein the inhuman institution of negro slavery; but at the door of Great Britain lies the sin of its perpetuation, for notwithstanding the protestations of the early English settlers, the trade, owing to its lucrative nature, was taken under the patronage of royalty and commerce, and forced upon the unwilling colonists.

But the rapid development of agriculture under the stimulus of a growing European demand for the peculiar products of the

country, and the consequent increasing necessity for additional labour, gradually reconciled the colonists to the abnormal sociology. Hence, in process of time, what was once held to be a crime of the greatest magnitude assumed the aspect of a justifiable undertaking. The qualms of conscience were quieted by the notion that the condition and prospects of the negro were physically, socially, and religiously improved by a transference from barbaric Africa to civilized and Christianized America; whilst the supposed *peculiar* adaptation of the negro constitution to the climate of the New World, and the *un*adaptability of the European constitution to the same climate, were urged and accepted as potent reasons why the trade should be encouraged to the utmost extent.

Under these circumstances the traffic was carried on vigorously, and the deportation of Africa's sable sons to the various districts on the opposite side of the Atlantic were numbered by tens of thousands annually.

Nevertheless, though the trade flourished greatly, the colonists were far from being *unanimous* in their opinions as to its lawfulness or desirability; a strong anti-slavery under-current was present, and only waited for a favourable opportunity to give practical expression to its existence and power. As at the present time, this anti-slavery feeling, though represented in all of the settlements, was more apparent in the northern than in the southern colonies; owing mainly to the wide difference in the political and religious birth and education of the original immigrants of the two sections. The districts of New England, on the one hand, being peopled by men expatriated by the political and

religious persecutions which they were subjected to in the mother country, and who had landed upon the shores of the western world with the determination of founding a community in which the civil and religious liberty of its citizens should be maintained inviolate; while, on the other hand, the early arrivals south of the Potomac were composed in part of the unemployed scions of British aristocracy, with a sprinkling of the mercantile-speculative class, and in part of the convict and scapegrace portion of the lower classes: thus introducing that dual condition of society—patrician and plebeian—which has existed in the South to the present day.

We find, therefore, that though during the struggle for independence there was a *kind* of union between the States, the compact, morally speaking at least, ceased to exist when the heads of the new nation met in convention for the purpose of framing a constitution. During the revolutionary war, the entire population, white and black, were bound together in the prosecution of a common cause, for the attainment of a common object—the individual as well as the national liberty of the whole people, without distinction of colour or circumstance: even Virginia, the very year that the Declaration of Independence was made, passed a law prohibiting the external slave trade, and which it was understood would be followed by enactments aiming at the destruction of the domestic institution. Whilst the war was going on, the selfishness of slave-holders was dormant, and the idea of perpetuating the vile institution was never broached; but no sooner had the contest terminated, than discord appeared in the camp of the republic: for while some of the States, in the

most honourable manner, proceeded to provide for the emancipation of their slaves, as a meet reward for their patriotism. others of them, to their eternal disgrace, sought rather to consolidate and intensify the sufferings of the unfortunate negroes, who, though they had fought and bled for the liberation of the commonwealth, were deprived of all share in the glorious results of the successful issue. The consequence of this was an actual division of the States into two sections—the one North and free and the other South and slave—between whom there has since been an unintermitting contest for supremacy.

SECTION 2. *Declaration of Independence.—Subsequent progress of Freedom in the North, and apparent tendency thereto in the South.—Revival of Pro-slavery notions; their power and final success in securing the recognition of Slavery by the Constitution.*

The Declaration of Independence was made on the 4th July, 1776, but there was no regular federal constitution framed until 1787, and that did not come into execution until 1789. During the interval the country was governed by a Congress of Confederation, which sat sometimes at New York and sometimes at Philadelphia.

Down to the latter date freedom had made considerable progress. In 1776, as observed above, Virginia abolished the external slave trade. In 1780, Massachusetts and Pennsylvania passed emancipatory measures, and were followed by Connecticut and Rhode Island in 1784. In 1785 an Abolition Society was organized at New York, but emancipation did not take place in

that State until 1799—seven years subsequent to New Hampshire, but five years before New Jersey.

In 1783 the old Congress met for the purpose of considering the subject of "ways and means," and to apportion between the several States the liabilities incurred during the war just then brought to a close. The basis adopted was that of population. The first question that presented itself was the manner in which the slaves should be counted, or whether they should be counted at all. The slave States maintained that the blacks ought not to be counted, on the ground that they were "property" and not "persons;" but the free States held the reverse: the slaves, they said, were "persons" and not "property," and ought therefore to be counted. After considerable discussion, however, a compromise was adopted: the matter being settled by reckoning three-fifths only of the slaves as a basis of population.

In 1784 Virginia and some other States ceded to Government a large tract of territory to the west of the Ohio, to be appropriated for the benefit of the national treasury. No sooner had the Congress met to consider the organization and settlement of these territories, than the question arose as to whether they should be occupied by slave or free labour. Here, again, the North and South were at issue, and the struggle continued for three years without any conclusive result. On the 1st of March, 1784, a committee was appointed to report on the matter. Mr. Jefferson was the leading member, and the originator of the main article of the Report, which was as follows:—

"After the year 1800 of the Christian era, there shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in any of the said States otherwise than in punishment of

crimes, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted and to have been personally guilty."

The object being to exclude slavery from all the then territories of the Union, which might be admitted into the Confederation of States in future. On the 19th of April this proposition was rejected by Congress. The friends of liberty made one more effort in March, 1785, but were again defeated. The slave-holders of those days wanted just what their descendants are agitating for now—the right to carry their "property" into the common territories of the Union, with the sanction, and under the protection of the Federal Government. During the debates some of the representatives of the slave-holding States were most violent in their denunciations; and not a few of them threatened withdrawal from the Union if their views were not adopted. Indeed, things were brought to such a pitch, that it was found impossible to carry on the government of the country.

As a last resort, a convention was called in order to form a firmer government, and reconsider the subject of the territories. The first thing to do was to organize a system of representation. It was settled that population should be the basis. Then reappeared the vexed question as to how the slaves were to be counted. The matter had been settled, in respect of taxation, by counting five negroes as three persons. The South was willing to adopt the same plan, as a basis of representation; but the North objected, on the same grounds that the South had previously demurred, when the subject of taxation was under consideration. Finally, on the 9th July, 1787, another

pecial committee was formed; the result was the birth of new compromise, which obtained the concurrence of both he contending parties: the South, on its part, laying aside claim to carry slavery into the territories north and west the Ohio, provided that every facility should be given to ave-holders in pursuit of "fugitives from labour" from out of e slave States, and who might have secreted themselves the said territories; and the North, on its part, accepted "fugitive slave" clause and the three-fifths calculation of e slaves as a basis of representation. The following is the ticle in its entirety:—

'ARTICLE THE SIXTH.—There shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servie in the said territory, otherwise than in punishment of crimes, whereof the ty shall have been duly convicted: *Provided always*, That any person escaping the same, from whom labour or service is lawfully claimed in any one of the inal States, such fugitive may be lawfully reclaimed and conveyed to the on claiming his or her labour or service as aforesaid."

It was likewise arranged that the external trade should not abolished before the 1st January, 1808, but that Congress, the mean time, might levy a tax on such importations, of not ceeding ten dollars per person.

By these arrangements the pro-slavery party was for a time peased, and the abolitionists satisfied. The latter considered at they had obtained more advantageous terms than their pponent: consoling themselves with the idea that slavery ould cease to exist soon after the prohibition of the external ade. Their hopes were strengthened by the progress already ade in the direction of emancipation by many of the States, d by the partial measures introduced by some of the

remaining ones, which seemed to indicate that they would ere long, follow the example of their more liberal confederates for several of the Southern States had already passed laws f the prohibition or the restriction of negro imports. Even Sou Carolina, which had been especially strenuous in its oppositi to Jefferson's territorial motion, and which has since becor notorious for its acts of nullification, had prohibited the tra for twelve months; an experiment which it afterwards repeat annually until 1804; but in that year the demand for labo began to increase, from causes which we will presently allu to, and from thence to 1st January, 1808, 33,775 slaves wc imported into the port of Charleston.

So far it is clear that the giant minds of the Americ Republic looked upon slavery as an anomaly in their la the eradication of which was only a matter of time. That s was the opinions of Washington, Jefferson, Madison, &c. clear from the ambiguous manner in which the institut is alluded to in the "Constitution." In that document, neit the word slave nor any of its derivatives is to be found. T thing was abhorred, and, though tolerated, was not sanctio The following are the only references made to the subj We have italicised the euphemisms with which the framers the famous document sought to hide the monster iniquit The patriots who defied the power of the British Empi shrank from fairly meeting the selfish clique of ma stealers :—

"ARTICLE I., *Section* 2.—Representation and direct taxes shall be apportion amongst the several States which may be included within this Union, according their respective numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the wh

mber of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years and cluding Indians not taxed, *three-fifths of all other persons.*"

" ARTICLE I., *Section* 9.—*The migration or importation of such persons* as y of the States now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited the Congress prior to the year One thousand eight hundred and eight, but a tax, duty, may be imposed on such importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each son."

" ARTICLE IV., *Section* 2.—No *person held to service or labour* in one State under laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regu- ion therein, be discharged from such service or labour; but shall be delivered on claim of the party to whom such service or labour may be due."

CHAPTER II.

From the Purchase of Louisiana to the Missouri Compromise.

Section 1. *Louisiana Debates.—Tactics of Slave-owners.—Increa in the Slave Population.—Influence of the demand for Cott in consolidating Slavery.*

About the beginning of the present century the French posse sion of Louisiana was offered for sale to the American Gover ment. The best friends of the Union objected to the purch of the territory at all; but their opposition was useless; for addition to an united South, which had an eye to the extens of its favourite "institution," certain ambitious representatives the North voted for incorporation: the district to be parcelled into States, and admitted into the Confederation as soon as th attained the population, &c., required by law. In 1803, therefo the contract was concluded and a consideration of $15,000,0 paid to France. But there was no provision made as to whethe the constitutions of the new States were to be slave or free! Suc was the state of utter indifference into which the anti-slaver party had fallen, and the false security into which the measure of 1787 had thrown them.

The slave States were now all-powerful; for, notwithstandin

inferiority in population, they were, by the three-fifths lation of their slaves, entitled to a representation nearly to that of the free States. Besides which the politis of the country had become completely demoralized; interest, in its lowest form, had taken the place of the otism which had animated the great lights of the revolution. ah Quincy, in speaking of the Louisiana Bill, thus describes means employed in securing its passage through Congress :—

The passage of the Louisiana Admission Bill was effected by acts which slaveers well knew how to select and apply. Sops were given to the congressional n-dogs of the free States. To some, promises were made by way of opiates; hose whom they could neither pay nor drug were publicly treated with insoand scorn. Threats, duels, and violence were at that day, as now, modes ved by them to deter men from awakening the free States to a sense of . From the moment the Act was passed, they saw that the free States were of their strength; that they had obtained space to multiply their slaves at will; and Mr. Jefferson had confidently told them that, from that moment, onstitution of the United States was blank paper;' but more correctly there o longer any constitution. The slave-holders from that day saw they had e States in their power; and that they were masters, and the free States ; and have acted accordingly. From the passage of the Louisiana Bill his day, their policy has been directed to a single object, with almost uninted success. That object was to exclude the free States from any share of , except in subserviency to their views; and they have undeniably, during bsequent period of our history (the administration of John Quincy Adams xcepted), placed in the chair of state, either slave-holders or men from the tates who, for the sake of power, consented to be their tools—'Northern men Southern principles'—in other words, men who, for the sake of power or pay, willing to do what they would set them upon." *

We have already remarked that it was the general opinion the existence of slavery depended upon the importation negroes from Africa, and that so soon as such importation

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Address Illustrative of the Nature and Power of the Slave States, and the s of the Free States; delivered at Quincy, Massachusetts, June 5, 1856 ed by Chambers: *American Slavery and Colour*, p. 31).

ceased the institution would gradually die out; for
supposed that such a scarcity of the "article" would
upon prohibition as would so enhance its price as to c
planters to resort to free labour as the cheaper meth
cultivating their crops; subsequent events have proved
might have been demonstrated *à priori*) the fallacy o
supposition. In 1790 the number of slaves in the State
697,897; in 1820, 1,538,064; and at the present
4,000,000.

But already a new power had begun to exercise its p
influence upon Southern politicians. Down to the perio
the convention of 1787 the planters of the Southern S
had been engaged principally in the cultivation of rice
indigo, then the best-paying growths; but the profits o
trade were lessening yearly in consequence of the compe
of India, then beginning to be felt. The cotton plant,
the great staple of Southern agriculture, was then
cultivated to a limited extent; the process of cleaning the
being so slow and expensive as to render the productio
the plant, on a large scale, impossible; for notwithstan
the increased demand for cotton from England, conseq
upon the then recent great improvements in the machi
for spinning, the exports from the United States in 1793
amounted to 187,000 lbs.; whilst the imports into Engl
from the West Indies, Turkey, India, &c., during the previ
year, reached 28,706,675 lbs.

Hargreaves' "Jenny" was invented in 1767, Arkwrig
"Throstle" in 1769, and Crompton's "Mule" in 1775

h year, likewise, steam power was for the first time applied tton machinery. In 1787 Dr. Cartwright brought out his ver loom." One year later the trade, becoming alarmed ecting the future supplies of raw cotton, had called attention of the East India Company to the increasing irements of the manufacture, and the capability of India meeting those wants, if the growth of the fibre was encouraged. No one, for a moment, expected that any tance would come from America.

he following table will give the reader an idea of the rapid ress of the trade from 1764 to 1798:—

Year.	Imports of Cotton into Great Britain.	Price of West Indian.	Price of American Uplands.
	lbs.	per lb.	per lb.
1764	3,870,392	..	..
1775	4,764,589	..	..
1781	5,198,878	..	..
1785	18,400,384	14*d.* to 28*d.*	..
1791	28,706,675	20*d.* to 30*d.*	(1793) 13*d.* to 22*d.*
1798	31,880,641	18*d.* to 55*d.*	17*d.* to 60*d.*

re we find the price gradually advancing, notwithstanding increased supplies. The receipts from North America in were about 1,000 lbs.; in 1770 about 2,000 lbs.; in 1784 t 14,000 lbs., and in 1791, 189,316 lbs. only were exported n the United States. The invention of the saw gin by Eli itney, however, in 1793, introduced a new order of things. the primitive rollers, one hand could clean only a few ds of wool daily; but by means of the new gin three to

four hundred pounds could be turned out in the same spa time. The effect of Whitney's ingenuity was instantaneous export of cotton during 1794—that is, one year after invention—being 1,601,760 lbs. against only 187,000 in 1 In 1800 the shipments were 17,789,800 lbs., and in nearly one half of the cotton imported into Great Britain the produce of the United States. Not only was the su large, but it was in quality superior to anything our spin had been used to, and it speedily took the place of the c moner grades of West India. As early as 1801, Messrs. Ev Rutson & Co., the eminent Liverpool merchants, remarked

"The quantity produced in Georgia and Carolina and on the banks Mississippi, in favourable seasons, will, in point of weight, exceed that the West Indies put together, and will have a serious tendency to depr value of our own West India cottons. The consumption of New Orlea inferior Georgia is become very great, and already precludes the sale of mi and inferior West India at the proportionate prices we have formerly accustomed to."*

In the mean time the trade was making rapid progress al Europe. Cotton machinery on the English principle was i duced into France in 1789; in Saxony in 1799; in Bel in 1804, and in Holland a few years later.

The first mill was erected in the United States in 1 cotton goods were manufactured at Boston in 1808, and in the power loom was in full play there. The exports of co wool from America increased from 17,789,800 lbs. in 180 93,900,000 lbs. in 1810, and 127,800,000 lbs. in 1820. wonder therefore that the slave-trade increased in activity,

* *Prices Current for Jamaica, &c.*, Nov. 2, 1801.

that the slave-holders grew more unmanageable, and sought with such vigour to augment the extent of their territory, and thereby increase the weight of their influence in the Congress of the Union. These facts will enable the reader the better to understand the course which events took subsequently to the passage of the Louisiana Bill.

SECTION 2. *The Admission of Louisiana, Missouri, and Arkansas. —The Missouri Debates and Compromise.*

In 1812 the first portion of the newly-acquired territory was admitted into the Confederation as a State, with the name of Louisiana. The inhabitants were guaranteed all the privileges they had enjoyed under the dominion of the French, which privileges the institution of slavery was numbered. tate being the most southern portion of the territory, and sufficient distance from the free States, the Northern entatives offered no opposition to the passage of the Bill orporation.

1818 the inhabitants of Missouri (another portion of the iana Estate) presented their petition to Congress for ad- on into the Union on equal terms with the citizens of siana. The abolitionists now began to be alarmed at the and rapid strides which slavery was making, and resolved, ssible, to prevent its further extension. Pity that the dis- ry had not been made sooner! The admission of Missouri a slave constitution was therefore strongly opposed by the esentatives of the free States. After a considerable amount ne had been spent in debating the terms of the Constitution,

Mr. Tallmadge, jun., of New York, moved the following amendment thereon in March, 1819 :—

"*And provided that the introduction of slavery, or involuntary servitude, be prohibited, except for the punishment of crimes, whereof the party has been duly convicted;* and that all children born within the said State, after the admission thereof into the Union, shall be declared free at the age of twenty-five years."

Mr. J. W. Taylor, of New York, addressing the House on this amendment, thus advocated the cause of freedom :—

"If slavery shall be tolerated, the country will be settled by rich planters, with their slaves; if it shall be rejected, the emigrants will chiefly consist of the poorer and more laborious classes of society. If it be true that the prosperity and happiness of a country ought to constitute the grand object of its legislators, I cannot hesitate for a moment which species of population deserves most to be encouraged by the laws we may pass. Gentlemen, in their zeal to oppose the amendment, appeared to have considered but one side of the case. If the rejection of slavery will tend to discourage emigration from the South, will not its a[dmission] have the same effect in relation to the North and East? Whence c[ame the] people who, with a rapidity never before witnessed, have changed the w[ilderness] between the Ohio and Mississippi into fruitful fields; who have erected [new States] a period almost too short for the credibility of future ages, three of the fai[r and] most flourishing States in our Union? They came from the Eastern hive[s]. that source of population which, in the same time, has added more than one [million] thousand inhabitants to my native State, and furnished seamen for a large [portion] of the navigation of the world; seamen who have unfurled your banner i[n every] port to which the enterprise of man has gained admittance, and who, thou[gh] themselves, have drawn rich treasures for the nation from the bosom of th[e deep]. Do you believe that these people will settle in a country where they m[ust] rank with negro slaves? Having neither the ability nor the will to hold [slaves] themselves, they labour cheerfully while labour is honourable; make it disg[raceful] they will despise it. You cannot degrade it more effectually than by estab[lishing] a system whereby it shall be performed principally by slaves. The busin[ess] which they are generally engaged, be it what it may, soon becomes debased in [public] estimation. It is considered low and unfit for freemen." *

This movement drew down the fiercest denunciations f[rom] the opposition. All manner of things were threatened—f[rom]

* *Abridgment of the Debates of Congress from* 1789 *to* 1854. By Th[omas] H. Benton. Vol. vi. 1817-1821. Appleton and Co., New York, 1858.

the personal castigation of particular individuals to the dissolution of the Union. Mr. James Tallmadge, jun., of New York, expressed himself vigorously in reply to the threats of the fire-eaters :—

" Sir, the honourable gentleman from Missouri (Mr. Scott), who has just resumed his seat, has told us of the *Ides of March*, and has told us to ' *Beware of the fate of Cæsar and of Rome.*' Another gentleman (Mr. Cobb), from Georgia, in addition to other expressions of great warmth, has said, ' that if we persist the Union will be dissolved ;' and, with a look fixed on me, has told us, ' we had kindled a fire which all the waters of the ocean cannot put out, which seas of blood can only extinguish.'

" Sir, language of this sort has no effect on me; my purpose is fixed, it is interwoven with my existence, its durability is limited with my life, it is a great and glorious cause, setting bounds to a slavery the most cruel and debasing the world ever witnessed; it is the freedom of man; it is the cause of unredeemed and unregenerated human beings.

" Sir, if a dissolution of the Union must take place, let it be so ! If civil war, which gentlemen so much threaten, must come, I can only say, let it come ! My hold on life is probably as frail as that of any man who now hears me ; but, while that hold lasts, it shall be devoted to the service of my country—to the freedom of man. If blood is necessary to extinguish any fire which I have assisted to kindle, I can assure gentlemen, while I regret the necessity, I shall not forbear to contribute my mite. Sir, the violence to which gentlemen have resorted on this subject will not move my purpose, nor drive me from my place. I have the fortune and the honour to stand here as the representative of freemen, who possess intelligence to know their rights, who have the spirit to maintain them. Whatever might be my own private sentiments on this subject, standing here as the representative of others, no choice is left to me. I know the will of my constituents, and, regardless of consequences, I will avow it; as their representative, I will proclaim their hatred to slavery in every shape; as their representative here will I hold my stand, until this floor, with the constitution of my country which supports it, shall sink beneath me. If I am doomed to fall, I shall at least have the painful consolation to believe that I fall, as a fragment, in the ruins of my country. . . . . .

" Sir, has it already come to this, that in the Congress of the United States—that in the legislative councils of republican America, the subject of slavery has become a subject of so much feeling, of such delicacy, of such danger, that it cannot safely be discussed ? Are members who venture to express their sentiments on this subject to be accused of talking to the galleries, with intent to excite a servile war, and of meriting the fate of Arbuthnot and Ambrister ? Are we to be told of the dissolution of the Union, of civil war, and of seas of blood ? And yet,

with such awful threatenings before us, do gentlemen in the same breath insist upon the encouragement of this evil, upon the extension of this monstrous scourge of the human race? An evil so fraught with such dire calamities to us as individuals, and to our nation, and threatening in its progress to overwhelm the civil and religious institutions of the country with the liberties of the nation, ought at once to be met and to be controlled. If its power, its influence, and its impending dangers have already arrived at such a point as that it is not safe to discuss it on this floor, and it cannot now pass under consideration as a proper subject for general legislation, what will be the result when it is spread through your widely extended domain? Its present threatening aspect, and the violence of its supporters, so far from inducing me to yield to its progress, prompts me to resist its march. Now is the time. It must now be met, and the extension of the evil must now be prevented, or the occasion is irrecoverably lost, and the evil can never be contracted."

So great was the influence of the anti-slavery party that the amendment passed the House, on the 16th February, 1819, by a vote of eighty-seven against seventy-six on the first clause, (which is italicized), and eighty-two to seventy-eight on the second clause; and the Bill, including the amendment, was ordered to be engrossed by a vote of ninety-seven against fifty-six. No one was more astonished at the victory than the Northerners themselves;—as to the slave-holders, they became almost frantic; but they trusted to the Senate, and were not disappointed; for that august body, on the 27th February, struck out the offensive proviso by a vote of thirty to seven against the first clause, and twenty-two to sixteen on the second one. The Bill was therefore sent back to the House; but the Representatives refused to move: confirming their former position, by a vote of seventy-eight to seventy-six, on the 2nd March. On the same day the Senate passed the following resolution: "That the Senate adhere:" to which the House replied by passing a similar

vote for itself: Yeas 78, Nays 66. The Bill therefore was lost. On the meeting of Congress in December, 1819, the strength of each of the contending parties was found to be pretty nearly equal, and the prospects of the settlement were consequently as far off as ever. On the 8th December a petition was presented by the people of Maine (an offshoot of Massachusetts), praying to be admitted into the Union as a State. The Bill passed to the Upper House and was referred to a Senatorial Committee on the 4th January, 1820. On the 6th January the committee made their report, with amendments, authorizing the admission of Missouri likewise. But the amendments, making no mention of slavery, were objected to; the Senate however supported them: yeas 25, nays 18. It now became clear, to the leaders of both parties, that some half-way measure would be the only method of settling the dispute, hence the support which welcomed the celebrated amendment of Mr. Thomas, since known as the "Missouri Compromise." The motion was first brought forward in the Senate on the 3rd February, but was not finally agreed to until the 2nd March; the closing votes were—Senate, Yeas 90, Nays 87: House, Yeas 134, Nays 42. The following is the famed provision, and its fugitive slave clause:—

"*And be it further enacted*, That in all the territory ceded by France to the United States, under the name of Louisiana, which lies north of 36° 30′ north latitude, not included within the limits of the State contemplated by this Act, slavery and involuntary servitude, otherwise than in the punishment of crimes whereof the parties shall have been duly convicted, shall be, and is hereby, for ever prohibited: *Provided always*, That any person escaping into the same from whom labour or service is lawfully claimed in any State or territory of the United States, such fugitive may be lawfully reclaimed, and conveyed to the person claiming his or her labour or service as aforesaid."

Thus was slavery once more triumphant. The idea current now was that no more would be heard of the vexed question. The North was content with the decision: hence the territory of Arkansas, intermediate between Louisiana and Missouri, was received into the confederation without any opposition, in 1836; and the State of Florida (acquired from Spain in 1821), equally amicably, in 1845; both with slave constitutions, owing to their geographical position being to the south of the compromise line.

CHAPTER III.

CONTINUED PROGRESS OF SLAVERY.—THE INFLUENCE OF THE ANTI-NEGRO PREJUDICE OF THE NORTH, AND THE COALITION OF NORTHERN AND SOUTHERN POLITICIANS IN AUGMENTING THE POWER OF SLAVEDOM.

THE Southerners were thus becoming more and more powerful, and the institution of slavery more widely spread; but notwithstanding the progress already made, the slave-holders were far from being satisfied. The continued increasing demand for cotton stimulated their appetites for more territory, not only to prevent the too rapid concentration of the slave population, but to acquire fresh lands to replace the plantations, which had been so impoverished by excessive and non-rotative cultivation that they were scarcely half as productive as formerly. In 1820, the total exports of cotton from the United States reached 127,800,000; in 1825, 176,450,000; and in 1830, 298,459,000 lbs.

In addition to the increasing demand for the great staple of the South, two other circumstances had for some time exercised considerable influence in consolidating the power of slavery. First, the prejudice of the North against its free coloured inhabitants; and, second, the coalition of Northern and Southern politicians for mutual advantages.

The degraded condition of the negro, in consequence of the pernicious influence of slavery, had given the European population a very poor notion of his natural capabilities; and even after emancipation had set in, the prejudice of caste seemed rather to strengthen than otherwise, and, despite his new condition, the African did not improve. His friends defended him, and justly attributed his demoralised condition to the baneful surroundings of slavery, which had deprived him of the best phases of humanity. He would improve by degrees, said they. The second generation will be better than the first, and the third than the second, and so on. But the rising generation of whites inherited the anti-negro notions of their fathers; the black was still despised, and denied the social, civil, political, and even religious rights of citizenship. So that even when he did show some signs of improvement he found it impossible to establish a position in society for himself. At first he did not raise himself, because he could not; now he cannot, though he would. He is, as under slavery, the *drudge* of the whites, and has no incentive to industry and advancement. He is consequently content to rest satisfied with a bare subsistence obtained in the most menial employments. The best phases of manhood are kept under by the absence of motive for their development—hence the inferiority of the race. The white, in fact, is jealous; and should there appear an African genius in the free States he would find no encouragement, but would be opposed by the majority, and receive the cold shoulder of all. Can we wonder therefore that he still continues a very burden to society? Or can we wonder that the South,

seeing the miserable condition of the free negroes of the North, should use all the means in their power to prevent the spread of emancipation? The opinion indeed was gaining ground, even at the North, that the two races could not exist together, save in the relationship of master and servant, superiors and inferiors. Out of this feeling sprang the Colonization Society which was organised in 1817, with the object of drafting off the free negroes to Africa, and so removing the opposition of the South to emancipation. The cause of the Society was for some time espoused by many of the leading abolitionists of the North and slave-owners of the South, and had the intentions of the Society been properly followed up, there is no doubt that a great amount of good would have been the result. But the partnership did not exist long, for it was discovered that the slaveholders joined the association simply for the purpose of ridding themselves of their *free* negroes, and so enable themselves to secure the perpetuation of their "institution;" besides which it was found that the free negroes in many instances objected to removal. It is not surprising therefore that, from 1817 to 1833, only 8,500 coloured emigrants left the shores of the United States; and it is as little surprising that the advocates of emancipation cut all connexion with the pseudo-philanthropic association. The great split took place in 1838 (desertions had been going on for half a dozen years previously), when the great Abolition Society was formed, with the motto of *immediate emancipation*. Agencies of the Society were established throughout the free States, and the agitation was carried to the doors of Congress itself; but though the people of the North were

enthusiastic, the politicians were not; for, being bound to the South by constitutional and personal compacts, there was always a sufficient number of Northern votes given to slave-holders to enable them to keep out the thin edge of the wedge of abolition. The power of slavery had become so great that moderate men had long given up the idea of "immediate abolition," and they now sought its geographical restriction as the only hope of freedom.

The second circumstance alluded to above as having furthered the interests of the pro-slavery party, was the alliance between Northern and Southern politicians for the purposes of mutual advantages. The South is strictly an agricultural country, and under slavery can never be anything else. Hence her commercial interests would be best forwarded by an entire freedom of trade with the manufacturing world. But the North is a manufacturing community, and requires a protective tariff in order to enable it to compete with the cheap fabrics of Europe. Such a tariff is therefore introduced into Congress. The South grumbles, but requiring the aid of at least some Northern votes to secure the integrity of the "domestic institution," Southern slave-holding Whigs have always exchanged votes with Northern protectionist Whigs. So we find that certain Northern representatives supplied the votes whereby the various "compromises," and other measures palpably Southern, were passed and maintained; and that certain Southern representatives supplied the votes whereby the protectionist measures of the North were made law. True, there have always been dissentients in both sections; but an united North with but a little

Southern help could keep down the free-trade predilections of the South, and an united South with but a little Northern assistance could keep in abeyance Northern anti-slavery measures. By this means the interdependence of the two sections has been secured: the North supplying grain, animals, machinery, and manufactures to the South; and the South supplying raw cotton, minerals, sugar, and rice to the North. Hence, looking at the matter from a more comprehensive point of view, it has been remarked:—

"That slavery is not a self-sustaining system, independently remunerative; but that it attains its importance to the nation and to the world by standing as an agency, intermediate between the grain-growing States and foreign countries. As the distillers of the West transformed the surplus grain into whiskey, that it might bear transport, so slavery takes the products of the North and metamorphoses them into cotton, that they may bear export."*

This connexion was pretty nearly broken off in 1832 by the disaffection of the South, which attributed its comparatively inferior condition and slow progress to the federal protection of Northern interests. The Southerners had several times in previous years expressed themselves strongly on the matter, but they were always overwhelmed by the Northern interest.

The war of 1812-15, by cutting off the supplies of foreign manufactures, had been the means of calling into existence a number of native manufactories in the North. The same cause had increased the debt of the Union to something over £27,000,000. On the conclusion of peace the Government called upon Congress for powers to raise the funds required to

* *Cotton is King.* By an American. Cincinnati, 1855. P. 122.

meet the national liabilities. The Northern manufacturers claimed that the revenue should be levied in such a way as to protect their productions against the competition of European fabrics. Their request was granted. The same principle was acted upon in all the subsequent revisions of the tariff; but the opposition of the free-traders of the South, though at first feeble, gained strength as time grew, until, in 1831, when the national debt had been almost entirely paid off and the revenue of the country was considerably over the expenditure, the Southerners made a most decided stand, and demanded a reduction of the tariff. John C. Calhoun, previously an ultra-protectionist, and South Carolina led the van of opposition. The Palmetto State went through the preliminaries of secession, and various treasonable ordinances were passed. Calhoun resigned his office of Vice-President of the United States, and was spoken of as the probable first President of the new confederacy. But General Taylor took energetic measures for putting down the conspiracy. The first day of February, 1833, had been appointed by the South Carolinian nullificators when they would resist the collection of the Federal revenue; but the Government was prepared, and the day came—and passed—without witnessing any demonstration! And though a species of compromise was subsequently adopted, it left the *principle* of protection untouched. President Jackson, years after these occurrences, declared that if the South Carolinians had attempted to carry out their threats, he would have seized Calhoun and his fellow-conspirators and hung them. "They should," said he, "have been a terror to traitors to all time,

and posterity would have pronounced it the best act of my life." What a contrast to the conduct of President Buchanan in 1860, especially when it is considered that whilst South Carolina in 1832 had some grounds for dissatisfaction, in 1860 the case was almost the reverse! But of this more anon.

CHAPTER IV.

From the Annexation of Texas to the Kansas Troubles.

Section 1. *The Invasion of Texas.—Its Annexation.—The Fugitive Slave Law: its onerous provisions, and their effect upon the North.*

Having by the annexation of Florida absorbed the whole of the country on the Atlantic coast, the attention of the Southerners was now turned towards the West. Indeed, during the negotiations with Spain respecting Florida, the American Government had advanced a claim to the Mexican State of Texas, but abandoned it as one of the conditions of the cession of Florida. When the people of Mexico, however, had succeeded in throwing off the yoke of Spanish rule, the aggrandizing propensities of the Americans raised once more the spirit of covetousness. The usual preliminaries of spoliation were at once commenced: crowds of unscrupulous adventurers flocked into the unoffending country, and by their overbearing conduct soon so irritated the native government as to bring about the war which finally resulted in the triumph of the "filibusters," and the expulsion of the Mexican authorities.

Before Texas had fallen into the hands of the United States

slavery had been expelled the country. The new masters, however, though boasting a superior civilization, and a purer religion, speedily reintroduced the barbaric institution. Great opposition was made to the admission of the State into the Confederation. The advocates of freedom deluged the Congress with adverse petitions; Daniel Webster and others denounced the whole proceeding as a crime of such magnitude as to be without precedent in modern history; every one saw that the acquisition of a district large enough for half a dozen States would give to the slave-holders a dangerous preponderance in the council of the nation. But Southern interests prevailed, and Texas was duly received into the Union in 1845.

Subsequently to this date a difference of opinion arose between the American and Mexican Governments as to the precise geographical boundaries of the new State. The dispute brought on another war. The Mexicans, as might be expected, were defeated, and the Americans, in addition to gaining their point in respect of the boundaries of Texas, became masters by purchase of the whole country through to the Pacific.

At the close of the war the Government introduced a Bill in Congress applying for powers to raise funds wherewith to clear off the obligations to Mexico. This brought on a discussion on the question, whether the new acquisitions—denominated California, New Mexico, and Utah—were to be governed by slave or free constitutions. The anti-slavery party endeavoured to procure the passage of a motion excluding the "institution" from the territories, but were unsuccessful.

In 1847 the district of Oregon was organized as a free terri-

tory, but not without opposition; for though, by its geographical position, it had been guaranteed to freedom by the ordinance of 1787, and again by the compromise of 1821, the slave-holders had the audacity to endeavour to introduce their odious institution into its constitution; and, failing this, attempted to extend the Missouri line of 36° 30′ to the Pacific. Had they succeeded in this latter matter, it would have profited them little, since the State of California in 1850 made choice of free institutions.

In the year just named the discussions on the organization of the territories of New Mexico and Utah were renewed. Things assumed a very awkward aspect: the free soilers were strong and determined, and their opponents equally so. The issue would doubtless have been serious, had not the ingenuity of Clay bolstered, and only bolstered, matters up by a new compromise. In this measure there were several old disputes settled, besides the matter under discussion. Clay's proposition was, that the new territories should be organized on the basis of what was facetiously called "squatter sovereignty," that is, that the settlers or "squatters" be allowed to choose their own constitution. This was the concession of the South. The free States on their part accepted the Fugitive Slave Clause, by which they bound themselves under heavy penalties to deliver up all runaways from the slave States. Constitutionally the slave-owners had held this right from the year 1787, as we have already shown (§ 2, Chap. I.); but their attempts at reclamation had always been frustrated. The new Bill, however, was worded in such a manner, and had attached to it such onerous penalties, that escape was not only barely possible, but the free coloured

population of the North were in great danger of being kidnapped and carried into slavery. The officers of the States, by this law, are bound to turn slave-hunters, or be mulcted in the sum of $1000 (£208), and bystanders are commanded to assist in the pursuit. The negro when caught *is denied a hearing—his testimony is refused.* The commissioner is to decide the case *summarily;* and if the verdict be in favour of the claimant, his fees are double what they will be if the pursuer is defeated.

It is not surprising therefore that the passage of the "Fugitive Slave Bill" created great indignation in the free States. The ultra anti-slavery party were especially roused, and in defiance of the law, convened nullification mass-meetings throughout the North. During the years 1851-52 Mrs. Stowe, with the same object in view, published her *great* work, by weekly instalments, in the Washington *National Era.* In the latter year "Uncle Tom" was issued in a complete form, and 150,000 copies were sold during the first nine months of its existence. The plot was dramatised, and in that shape electrified immense audiences in all the principal cities of the North. The result was that the "Fugitive Slave Law" became what it now is—a dead letter.

The moderate and conservative elements of the public were perhaps equally annoyed. They did not fail to perceive that the "squatter sovereignty" clause of the late Act virtually demolished the "Missouri Compromise" of 1821; whilst in the matter of fugitives from slavery they considered the law a stretch of the "Constitution." They admitted that the South was entitled to claim its runaways; but they denied that the slave-holders had any right to compel the free men of the North

to become their assistants in man-hunting. If, said they, you can find your slave in our territory, and can prove his identity before an impartial tribunal, and will satisfactorily answer all objections which the *negro himself* may urge in defence of his liberty, we will allow you to carry him back with you to slavery. Not otherwise.

SECTION 2. *Kansas-Nebraska Act.— Debates thereon.— Repeal of the Missouri Compromise.—Its effects upon the Politicians of the Free States.—Annihilation of the old Parties and Party Compacts.*

The successes of the slave-holders in 1850 emboldened them to endeavour to add still further to their possessions; so when the measures for organizing the territories of Kansas and Nebraska, both *north* of 36° 30′, and therefore entitled to freedom, came before Congress, they succeeded in passing a Bill on the same basis as the New Mexico and Utah measure. This victory was a hard-fought one, and may be said to have been the last triumph of the South. The North was now fairly roused, and the conduct of its representatives was for the first time thoroughly censured. The occurrence was the death-blow to the coalition which had existed between the Northern and Southern Whigs;—indeed Whiggery itself disappears from the stage after this date, and the great Republican party commences its onward career.

The Kansas-Nebraska Act expressly declares the Missouri Compromise in the matter of slavery to be "inoperative and void." Down to 1854 the compact had been kept inviolate, for the New Mexico and Utah measures did not *directly* affect it—

those territories being below the compromise line. The admission of Missouri and Arkansas was one of the *conditions* of the compromise, and the framers of it never dreamt that the territories north of the line would be interfered with. The admission of Texas in 1845 was rendered comparatively easy by the existence of the known compact. The North all along had been too conciliatory—too faithful to the South; but when the slave-holders had secured the whole of the territory south of the line, they repudiated the existence of the compromise, and declared it unconstitutional on the ground that Congress had no right to interfere with the constitutional organization of the territories! They had truckled to Northern Protectionists, courted Northern Whigs, whilst it suited their purpose; but when they had consolidated their power and increased their territory geographically to far above the free States, they cut the connexion of their Northern tools. This was more than even Whiggery could stand; and the leading men of the party at the North declared that they could no longer ally themselves with the Southern section of the Whig family, because of their recreant policy. One of the best speeches delivered during the debates was that by Senator Wade of Ohio, made in the evening in which the Kansas-Nebraska Bill was passed. At Washington his oration was called the new declaration of independence. The address, in substance, for the original is too long to insert entire, was as follows:—

"The humiliation of the North is complete and overwhelming. No Southern enemy can wish her deeper degradation. But the North will not tamely submit

to the great insult. I have all my life belonged to the great national Whig party, and have never failed to support her regular candidates, slave-holding or non-slave-holding, and have encountered not a little opposition when supporting Southern men, defending myself by appealing to that honour and magnanimity of soul which I believed always actuated Southern gentlemen. But I will sin thus no more! The result of this debate has shown me that the Southern Whigs have, in direct contravention of the party compacts, forced upon the consideration of the Senate a question of the most dangerous and purely sectional character. The opinion of no Northern man was asked. The fate of the territories is to be settled without any consultation with the North. The first intimation given was that the Southern Whigs were a unit on the subject of repealing the Missouri Compromise. This conclusion had been arrived at in secret conclave, and before there had been any debate or deliberation on the subject. No doubt the question was asked—what shall we do with the Northern Whigs? and no doubt the answer was—consign their territory to slavery before they know it. The South decided to cut all political connexion with us, and have thereby rendered the existence of a *national* party impossible. I have long laboured to prevent the approach of a direct *sectional* issue between North and South. But the South have made up that issue—they have put the North at defiance, and declared sectional war for the mastery. I accept the issue. *Slavery must now become general or it must cease to be at all.* Should any evil result the South alone are responsible. When this Bill was first laid upon our tables I pointed out to Southern Whigs the disastrous consequences which would follow should it be passed, and that no Northern Whig could vote for it without betraying his constituents; but it was of no avail. We are despised, and regarded as men without spirit or courage to maintain our rights. Had this not been the case the South would not have dared to repeal this old time-honoured guarantee of freedom; and that, too, without consulting us. Henceforth there can be no further political connexion with the Whigs of the South. An impassable gulf separates us. The North must pass under the yoke again. But not for long. Her turn for political power may come next. No man can see the consequence of the deed about to be done. The future of the Republic is shrouded in gloom. Let every man do his duty, and may God prosper the right. We must drive slavery back, and confine it to the States where it now exists. There must be no more slave territory, no more slave States. All further compromises are at an end. The war must be carried on by the North with a resolute and uncompromising obstinacy, until things shall be put *in statu quo ante bellum.* I will appeal to the people, and stimulate them to action, until this vile judgment shall stand reversed. In the mean time consoled by the assurance that if offences must come, there is woe for those through whom they come."

The closing remarks of an exhaustive speech delivered by

Mr. Upham, of Massachusetts, are worthy of perusal. They are as follows :—

"But if you pass the Bill, or if it is defeated, in spite of the combined Southern vote, there will be an end of all compromises. Some of them may remain in the letter of the Constitution, but it will be a dead letter; their moral force will be gone for ever. The honourable member from South Carolina (Mr. Brooks), to whose frank and manly speech we listened with so much interest some weeks since, intimated that perhaps it would be well to abandon the policy of compromises, and for the two great conflicting interests to meet face to face, and end the matter at once. I have suggested the reasons why, heretofore, I have contemplated such an issue with reluctance. But if the South say so, *so let it be.* Southern gentlemen have expressed, in the course of this debate, reliance upon a conservative class of our Northern people, who, they flatter themselves, will come to their aid in this controversy. Let me assure them that no such class of men can be found now. Those persons who have been most steadfast in standing by the rights of the South, under the compacts, are the most wounded, the most justly incensed, at this attempt to repeal and repudiate a solemn promise. Heretofore the South has profited by our divisions. Those divisions have arisen, to a great degree, from the restraining and embarrassing influence of a sense of obligation on our part to adhere to the engagements, and stand up to the bargains made by the fathers, and renewed, as I have shown, by each succeeding generation. But let those engagements be violated, let those bargains be broken by the South, on the ground of unconstitutionality, or any other pretence, from that hour she becomes a unit, and indivisible; from that hour 'Northern men with Southern principles' will disappear from the scene, and the race of doughfaces be extinct for ever. I do not threaten. I pretend to no gift of prophecy. Any man can interpret the gathering signs of the times. All can read the handwriting on the wall. The very intimation that the Missouri Compromise is proposed to be repealed by Southern votes, in defiance of the protest of four-fifths of the Northern representatives, has rallied the people of the free States as they never have been rallied before. Their simultaneous and indignant protests pour in upon your table, in petitions, resolutions, and remonstrances, without number and without end. They are repeated in popular assemblages from the sea-shore to the Rocky Mountains, and in the newspaper press of all parties, and all creeds, and all languages. You have united the free States at last by this untimely, unprovoked, and astounding proposal. If you execute it by the passage of the Bill, they will be united for ever in one unbroken, universal, and uncompromising resistance of the encroachments of the slave power everywhere, and at all points, whether north or south of 36° 30′. Their unalterable determination is heard over the whole breadth of the land: rising from the shores of the western lakes, the thunder tones of an indignant people roll over the continent; they sweep through

the valley of the Connecticut, encircle the shores of Rhode Island—the early and constant homes of freedom—and the sandy cape of Massachusetts, which welcomed the pilgrim to his first refuge and rest, and they reverberate among the granite peaks of New Hampshire. Mount Washington proclaims, and Jefferson and Adams echo it back from their venerable summits, 'WHAT HAS BEEN PLEDGED TO FREEDOM SHALL BE FREE FOR EVER.'"

SECTION 3. *The Kansas disturbances.—Doings of Slave-holders.*

The Act passed, and the preliminaries of organization were commenced. Settlers flocked into the new territories from all directions; but the Northern States managed to contribute the majority, and it seemed very probable that at no very distant period Kansas would be admitted into the Union as a free State. But this the Southerners were determined if possible to prevent; for which purpose they employed the most disgraceful and unconstitutional means. Had the settlers been allowed to choose their own delegate to Congress, a man of anti-slavery principles would have been fixed upon; but as soon as the day appointed arrived a pro-slavery candidate was put in nomination by the slave-holders of the neighbouring State of Missouri, and his return was secured by a band of paid ruffians from out the said State. This brought the two parties into mortal conflict. The only way of retrieving their position now left to the settlers was the securing of an anti-slavery legislature. To give the reader an idea of the kind of individuals employed by the Southerners to do their unholy work, we will quote a description of them given by Mr. Phillips:—

"Most of them have been over the plains several times; if they have not been over the plains the probability is, they have served through the war in Mexico, or seen 'a deal of trouble in Texas,' or at least run up and down the Missouri river

often enough to catch imitative inspiration from the cat-fish aristocracy. I have often wondered where all the hard customers on the Missouri frontier came from. They seem to have congregated here by some law of gravity unexplainable. Perhaps the *easy* exercise of judicial authority in frontier States may explain their fancy for them. Amongst these worthies, a man is estimated by the amount of whisky he can drink; and if he is so indiscreet as to admit he 'drinks no liquor,' he is put down as a dangerous character, and shunned accordingly. Imagine a fellow, tall, slim, but athletic, with yellow complexion, hairy-faced, with a dirty flannel shirt, red, or blue, or green, a pair of commonplace, but dark-coloured pants, tucked into an uncertain altitude by a leather belt, in which a dirty-handled bowie knife is stuck rather ostentatiously, an eye slightly whisky red, and teeth the colour of a walnut. Such is your border ruffian of the lowest type. His body might be a compound of gutta-percha, Johnny-cake, and badly-smoked bacon; his spirit, the *refined* part, old Bourbon 'double rectified;' but there is every shade of border ruffian. Your judicial ruffian, for instance, is a gentleman; that is, as much of a gentleman as he can be without transgressing on his more purely legitimate character of border ruffian. As 'occasional imbibing' is not a sin, his character at home is irreproachable; and when he goes abroad into the territory, for instance, he does not *commit* any act of outrage, or vote himself, but after 'aiding and comforting' those who do, returns, feeling every inch a *gentleman*. Then there are your less conservative border ruffian *gentlemen*. They are not so nice in distinctions, and, so far from objecting, rather like to take a hand themselves; but they dress like gentlemen, and are so after a fashion. Between these and the first-mentioned large class there is every shade and variety; but it takes the whole of them to make an effective brigade; and *then* it is not perfect without a barrel of whisky. The two *gentlemanly* classes of ruffians are so for political effect, or because they fancy it is their interest. The lower class are pro-slavery ruffians merely because it is the prevalent kind of rascality; the inference is that they would engage in any other affair in which an equal amount of whisky might be drunk, or as great an aggregate of rascality be perpetrated."

Such is a sketch of the scoundrels against whom the peaceful citizens of Kansas had now to do battle for their liberty.

The 30th March, 1855, was the day appointed by the Territorial Government on which the settlers were to choose a legislature. By a census which was taken, the number of inhabitants was ascertained to be 8,501 souls, out of which 2,905 were entitled to vote.

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* *The Conquest of Kansas by Missouri and her Allies.* By W. Phillips. Boston, 1856.

"As the great day approached, parties of Missourians entered the territory, and planted themselves at every polling-place, with the avowed design of voting for candidates who would make Kansas a slave State. As many as 5,000 of these desperadoes, equipped with arms, and bringing tents and provisions, thus took their ground, resolved to commit a grossly illegal act, by representing themselves as actual inhabitants of the territory."*

After the election was over it was found that 6,218 votes had been polled! out of which 4,908 were illegal! Out of the total number of representatives elected, eleven were refused certificates by the provisional governor. A new election took place two months later than the above date, to fill up the vacancies; but the actual result did not alter the position of affairs, for the pro-slavery party had still the advantage, and the upshot was the formation of a constitution in accordance with their views. This precious cabal was nicknamed the "Bogus Legislature," and had not long been in existence before it came into collision with the territorial governor. Its proceedings were entirely repudiated by the legitimate settlers of the territory, who set to work and formed a rival government, afterwards known as the "Topeke Legislature:" the proceeding, however, was not tolerated by Congress, and an end was put to its existence, by force, in 1856. Things were still in a disorganized state, when a new convention, held at Lecompton in November, 1857, framed what has been since known as the "Lecompton Constitution." This constitution was a sort of compromise between the "Bogus" and "Topeke" Legislatures; but was disliked by the Kansans, because of its pro-slavery character. After considerable debating,

* *American Slavery and Colour.* By W. Chambers. London, 1858.

the Congress, in April, 1858, decided that the State should be admitted into the Union, and be at liberty either to accept or reject the "Lecompton Constitution." The constitution *was* rejected, and one in conformity with the will of the people, known as the "Lavenworth Constitution"—a section of which provides that "There shall be no slavery in this State and no involuntary servitude, unless for the punishment of crime, whereof the parties shall have been duly convicted"—passed both Houses of Congress during the late Session, and Kansas is now the thirty-fourth State of the Union. It is very probable that Nebraska will shortly follow her example and be received into the Confederation as a free State. Missouri is now encompassed on three sides by the free States of Kansas, Iowa, and Illinois, and must soon succumb to the surrounding influences.

CHAPTER V.

North and South in Battle Array.—Intolerance of Slavedom.—Preparing for the Storm.

The foregoing review shows the career of slavery down to the Kansas troubles to have been a most successful one; but the defeat of the "border ruffians," and the frustration of the political measures of their employers, commenced the era of reaction. The slave-owners did not fail to perceive that their opponents were gaining rapidly in strength and numbers, and would certainly ere long overpower them.

Henceforward all minor questions were ignored by both sections of the Union. Slavery restriction became the aim of the North, and slavery diffusion the object of the South. Free Kansas or slave Kansas was the question placed before the people for their decision at the Presidential election of 1856. Three Candidates were entered for the race: Buchanan—Democrat, advocate of squatter sovereignty and federal protection of slavery in the territories; Fremont—Republican and Free-soiler; and Fillmore, the nominee of the Union men and the Doughfaces or peace-at-any-price party, who had been terrified by Southern threats of disunion.

Though a great change had taken place in the feeling of the

free States, still the Republican party was only partially organized, and its principles were exaggerated and misrepresented by both Democrats and Unionists. The slave oligarchy was conscious of its inability, unassisted, to elect a President after its own heart, and having disgusted the intelligent and consistent citizens of the North by its high-handed proceedings in the Kansas-Nebraska affairs, it resorted to the Democratic mobs of the free States, and secured their votes by telling them (though they knew to the contrary) that the Republican party meant to increase the *Federal* at the expense of the *State* power, thus infringing upon the States' rights principle, which is the corner-stone of American Democracy and the idol of its partizans. Thus there were Northern Democrats and Southern Aristocrats joined together each for the accomplishment of selfish ends. The slave-holders had no sympathy for Democracy proper, for they did not tolerate it in their own States. The plebeians of the North had no love for slavery, and would not permit its existence in their own States; but they dreaded the existence of a strong central government, and consequently sought to deprive it of everything but the name.

"The aristocrats of the South," say Mr. Stirling, "have been for some time aware that it is only through the agency of the ignorant Democracy of both sections of the empire that they can carry out their objects with regard to slavery. Hence they adhere stedfastly to this party, some of them conscientiously, in accordance with their State-rights prepossessions, and others, I believe, simply from interested views with regard to slavery. It must be humbling, we should think, for the educated and refined patricians of the South to let themselves be dragged through the dirt of Democratic politics for a shabby pecuniary purpose; but what will not men do when they consider their interests to be at stake?"*

* Stirling's *Letters from the Slave States*, p. 84.

The same author describes the Democrats of the North as being composed chiefly of the *canaille* of the large cities:—

"Irish Repealers are the natural enemies of all governments; they will always be found, therefore, on that side which is said to be the most hostile to law and lawgivers; and such they account the Democratic party. Interest determines the Southern Democracy, ignorance leads the Democracy of the North." *

In addition to the assistance derived from this mobocracy, the election of Buchanan was furthered by the effect which the secession cry had in driving many of the Northerners to vote for Fillmore, and thus lessen the chances of Fremont's success; whilst to crown all—

"It is notorious that in the North Buchanan and *free* Kansas was the rallying cry, while in the South it was Buchanan and *slave* Kansas."†

By such means, backed by the powerful assistance of "fifty thousand office-holders and dependents on executive favour" spread over the whole Union, who in most cases would have lost their situations had Fremont been elected, the return of Buchanan was secured. A great pro-slavery triumph doubtless, but the *last* one! Of this the slaveocracy itself was convinced; and hence the constant agitation which has disturbed the tranquillity of the country during the last four years.

The unlawful interference with the rights of the peaceful settlers of Kansas—the attempts at Cuban annexation—the endeavours to legalize the external slave trade—the contemptible proceedings respecting the "right of search," by which the slave-holders sought to make political capital at the North, even at the risk of forcing the country into war with

* Stirling's *Letters from the Slave States*, p. 86. † *Ibid.* p. 93.

Great Britain—the unmanly assault on Senator Sumner by the dastardly Brooks, the incarnation of modern Southernism—the manner in which the coward was fêted by Southern audiences, and his exploit applauded by Southern newspapers—the disgraceful proceedings enacted in the matter of the election of Speaker of the House of Representatives at the beginning of the Congress of 1859-60, and whereby two months of the session were wasted in violent and factious opposition to the will of the majority—are fair samples of the conduct of slavedom in these latter times—in themselves spasmodic struggles against the doom of dissolution, signs of an approaching decay; but still acts which have undoubtedly lowered the reputation of American statesmanship, and damaged the character of the Union in the eyes of all Europe.

The unsuccessful issue of the contest for the Speakership was fresh and most conclusive evidence to the slave-holders that their tenure of office—long held and abused—was drawing to a close. Hence, though secession had often been threatened, there had, down to the year 1860 (with the exception of the abortive attempt of South Carolina in 1832-3), been no *official* declaration made in the matter. But during the period between the election of Speaker Pennington and that of President Lincoln, the question was fully discussed by most of the slave States' Legislatures—South Carolina taking the lead.

Pending the result of the Presidential election, the Southerners had for some time been making preparations for the worst. Like good despots, they commenced setting their house in order for the new state of things. Fully aware that the defeat of their candi-

date was tolerably certain, and apprehensive of the effect which such an occurrence might have upon the stability of their favourite institution, and the autocratic character of their rule, they not only employed new vigour in carrying out the various anti-emancipatory measures—the enactments relating to slave passports, and those prohibitory of slave gatherings—but they passed laws for the expulsion of all *free* negroes, and adopted means for the exclusion of all free opinions from their dominions.

In March, 1859, the Arkansas Legislature passed a Bill for the expatriation of all free coloured persons from that State. The following is a summary of the measure from the *Little Rock Gazette* newspaper:—

"They have until January, 1860, to dispose of their property, and make other arrangements for leaving. If they do not go then, it is made the duty of sheriffs to seize them and hire them out to the highest bidder for one year, giving them the net proceeds of their labour to enable them to leave the State. The Bill provides that such free negroes as desire to remain may choose masters, the County Court having them appraised, and the master or mistress they have chosen paying half their value into the common school fund of the county."

The Government has taken care that the measure should not become a dead letter, as will be seen from the following extract from *The Times* of January 21st, 1860:—

"Forty free negroes, who have been expelled from Arkansas under the terms of the recent legislative enactment, which prescribed that in the event of their non-departure they should be sold into slavery, arrived at Cincinnati on the 3rd inst., in a destitute condition. They were met by a committee appointed for the purpose by the coloured population of Cincinnati. It was reported that the upward-bound boats on the Mississippi river were crowded with these fugitives, flying from their homes. A meeting had been held in Cincinnati to devise means of aiding the twelve families expelled from Kentucky in consequence of anti-slavery views."

A similar measure passed the Legislature of Missouri on the

11th of January, 1860. The following summary of its provisions is from the *New York Tribune*:—

"'The 1st Section prohibits the emancipation of a slave, unless the master gives bond with sureties, to remove the slave out of the State within ninety days.

"'Sec. 3 dooms to slavery every free negro who shall be a resident of the State after September, 1861, and over 18 years of age.

"'Sec. 4 requires the sheriff to bring every such negro before a magistrate, who, on proof of his freedom, gives the sheriff a certificate, who, thereupon, must proceed to sell the free negro at auction.

"'Sec. 5. The purchaser to have the same rights to the negro as if he had always been a slave.

"'Sec. 7. The proceeds to be paid into the county treasury.

"'Sec. 8. The sheriff to notify free negroes before September, 1860, of the Act.

"'Sec. 9. Free negroes under 18, after September, 1860, to be bound out as apprentices until 21 by the County Court, and allowed twelve months after that time to leave the State.

"'Sec. 11. Should such free negro be found in the State after that time, he shall be sold as provided in Section 4.

"'Sec. 15 punishes the officer who neglects his duty.

"'Sec. 17. Any free negro who comes into the State, and remains in it twelve hours, is subject to be sold as a slave.'"

Like enactments have been made law in other States. In the spring term of 1859 the following "presentment" was made by a South Carolinian jury:—

"PRESENTMENT OF THE GRAND JURY, AT SPRING TERM, 1859.—We further present the free negroes of the district as a nuisance, and recommend that the Legislature pass some law that will have the effect of relieving the community of this troublesome population."

And the *Cherau Gazette*, commenting on the same, made the following remark:—

"We are pleased at this act of the grand jury, and hope other grand juries will follow the example, and thus impress the matter upon our law-makers until they shall be forced to abate the nuisance."

The Louisiana Legislature has recently refused to pass the extreme measure, but the following law came into force in September, 1859:—

"All free persons of colour, arriving in port from abroad, must immediately be lodged in gaol, and remain there until the departure of the boat or vessel in which they came; masters of steamboats and ships must report to the chief of police all such persons belonging to their crews, *or passengers*, or incur severe penalties. It will be well for all masters of vessels and steamboats trading with this State to bear in mind the provisions of this law, as it will save them from much trouble, and perhaps pecuniary loss. The evils attending the increase of a free negro population, and more particularly the intercourse of free persons of colour from abroad with our slaves, caused the passage of this stringent law."

Independently of the high-handed conduct manifested towards the free coloured population, the white inhabitants, and all travellers from the North, and from Europe, are subjected to a system of espionage which has no parallel in the most despotic countries on the Continent. All discussion is interdicted; and the man who dares to express his antipathy of slavery, is soon in receipt of a "warning" or a castigation from the mobs of "white trash" in the pay of the planters. In the higher classes of society the question of freedom, if introduced by some visiting friend, is generally quietly got rid of by changing the subject of conversation. Mr. Stirling relates the following occurrence as having taken place whilst he was journeying per rail from Montgomery to Macon, in February, 1857 :—

"A Scotch lady who had married a South Carolinian, and lived sixteen years in the South, was giving me rather an animated and not very flattering account of slave life, especially in a religious point of view, when I noticed an elderly man, who had been seated at some distance behind us, move quietly up and take possession of the seat behind us. I at once broke off the conversation, having no doubt that he had caught stray words, and wished to play the eavesdropper. On mentioning my suspicions to the lady and her daughter, they agreed we could not be too cautious, as some persons who had expressed themselves too freely at Macon had been escorted to the station by a party of the inhabitants and forced to take their departure. In politics there is no toleration in the South. The slave-owner regards a wandering Abolitionist with about the same goodwill that a manufacturer

of gunpowder would a stranger who should visit his establishment with a lighted cigar in his mouth."*

The experience of Charles Mackay, who visited the States two years later, is thus told :—

"The traveller from New England and other free States no sooner penetrates into the slave land than he sees all around him the proofs that slavery is omnipresent." "Thought is not free. You may talk of the dissolution of the Union as desirable and probable, abuse the President and the ministers, speak ill of Congress collectively and individually, be profane or immoral in your speech, but you must not say a word against the sanctity of the 'domestic institution.'"†

This English testimony is fully borne out by the following extract from the *New York Herald* of January 4th, 1860, a Democratic and notoriously pro-slavery organ :—

"We are daily receiving information, from public and private sources, which shows that a reign of terror is approaching in this country pregnant with the most disastrous results to both North and South. Travellers from the Northern sections of the Union are not only looked upon with suspicion in the Southern States, but in many sections of that region they are stopped in their travels and obliged to give a satisfactory account of themselves and their business. If they have not some local acquaintance who can vouch for them, they are followed through all their in-goings and out-comings, and not unfrequently find themselves face to face with a vigilance committee, charged with the preservation of public order and the expurgation of the community from Northern Abolitionists. This is particularly the case with the travelling agents of Northern manufacturers and merchants, who, in consequence of the prevailing excitement, are looked upon with great suspicion. There are numerous concerns in this portion of the country which have sent out agents, and made great preparations to meet their orders from the South for goods, who already find themselves in pecuniary embarrassment, from the fact that their agents, instead of sending home orders for goods, write the most doleful letters in regard to their business prospects. Thus, the commercial connections between the North and the South are being gradually severed, under the growing influence of the terror that Northern agents of the abolitionised black republican party are busily fomenting a servile war in the South, and every Southern man feels that it is not slavery alone, but the lives of himself and his

* *Letters from the Slave States*, pp. 200, 201.
† *Life and Liberty in America*, vol. ii., p. 38.

beloved wife and children, that are involved. Our black republican contemporaries have been raising a lamentable hue and cry over the recent lynching of one James Power, at Columbia, South Carolina. Power is a native of Ireland, a stonecutter, and, with a number of other men of his trade, of different nationalities, was employed in the construction of the new State House at Columbia, when the pro-slavery committee of vigilance of the said town got wind of some remarks of Power of an abolition character. The results were, an unsuccessful attempt of Power to escape, his capture, the infliction of twenty-nine lashes upon his bare back, after which he was served with a coat of tar and feather, and in this condition was sent down by railroad to Charleston, where he was conducted to prison, and thence, after a confinement of several days, shipped to New York. *Twelve families have been obliged to fly from Madison County.*"

This intolerant rule has been still further intensified as the chances of pro-slavery success gradually lessened.

CHAPTER VI.

THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONEERING CAMPAIGN OF 1860.—DEFEAT OF THE SOUTHERN CANDIDATES.

SECTION 1. *The Nominations.—Democratic.*

IN the spring of 1860 the various political parties in the several States commenced proceedings for the choice of delegates to represent them at the forthcoming conventions to be formed for the purpose of framing, what is called, the "platform" or declaration of principles, and for the nomination of candidates for the Presidential election which was to take place on the 6th November.

The Democrats were the first in the field, and opened their Convention at Charleston on the 22nd April. Discord appeared in the camp on the first day of meeting, owing to the endeavour of the ultra pro-slavery party to introduce into the national platform principles at variance with the former declarations of the party, and in opposition to the ideas of the moderate Democratic delegates. The bone of contention was the subject of slavery in the territories. Sixteen of the committee of delegates, of one from each State

delegation, being the representatives of all the free States except California and Oregon, desired the matter to be left as stated in the platform of 1856, which maintained the doctrine of congressional *non-interference*, and which claimed for the settlers in the territories the right of admitting or excluding the "institution" as they saw fit. Nevertheless, after debating the question for some time, the Northerners proposed the following resolutions :—

"Inasmuch as differences of opinion exist in the Democratic party, as to the nature and extent of the powers of a Territorial Legislature, and as to the powers and duties of Congress, under the Constitution of the United States, over the institution of slavery within the territories;

"*Resolved*, That the Democratic party will abide by the decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States on the questions of constitutional law.

"*Resolved*, That it is the duty of the United States to afford ample and complete protection to all its citizens, whether at home or abroad, and whether native or foreign."

But the overture was rejected by the remaining seventeen delegates. They entirely repudiated the doctrine of "squatter sovereignty," and declared that they would vote for no platform which did not recognize the right of slave-holders to carry their property into the common territories of the Union, *there to be protected by the Federal Government*, against even the enactment of the Territorial Legislature. From this sprung what was called the majority platform as follows :—

"*Resolved*, That the platform adopted at Cincinnati be affirmed, with the following explanatory resolutions :—

"That the Democracy of the United States hold these cardinal principles on the subject of slavery in the territories: First, that Congress has no power to abolish slavery in the territories; Second, that the Territorial Legislature has no power to abolish slavery in any territory, nor to prohibit the introduction of slaves

therein, nor any power to exclude slavery therefrom, nor any power to destroy or impair the right of property in slaves by any legislation whatever.

"*Resolved*, That it is the duty of the Federal Government to protect, when necessary, the rights of person and property on the high seas, in the territories, or wherever else its constitutional authority extends."

The two sections agreed as to the propriety of enforcing the faithful execution of the Fugitive Slave Law; and they were equally agreed as to the desirability of acquiring the Island of Cuba; but the difference in the two modes of expressing the latter idea is significant. The moderate Democrats simply remark that they "are in favour of the acquisition of the Island of Cuba, on such terms as shall be honourable to ourselves and just to Spain;" whilst the ultra-Democrats "earnestly recommend the *acquisition of the Island of Cuba at the earliest practicable period.*"

The two sets of resolutions were next carried into the meeting of the full Convention; but though the extreme Southerners failed in carrying their slave code, they prevented the passage of the compromise clause of the minority platform; the remaining resolutions however were passed, and the Convention proceeded to ballot for a candidate for President, but were foiled, for the two-thirds majority requisite for a choice were steadfastly refused by the malcontent slave-holders. The last ballot for Mr. Douglas was 166 against 88: a transfer of five votes would have settled the question. But the Convention was adjourned to the 18th June, on which date it was to reassemble at Baltimore.

During the interval strenuous efforts were made to close up the split, but without success, for the second meeting was

as uproarious as the first, and the result was the nomination of two sets of candidates as follows :—

"*Squatter sovereignty*" *Democrats.*

PRESIDENT—Stephen A. Douglas, Illinois.

VICE-PRESIDENT—Herschell V. Johnson, Georgia.

Ultra Pro-Slavery and Cuban Annexation Democrats.

PRESIDENT—John C. Breckenridge, Kentucky.

VICE-PRESIDENT—Joseph Lane, Oregon.

On the 23rd June, in a speech delivered at Washington accepting the Baltimore nomination, Judge Douglas remarked:—

"The safety of the Union depends upon a strict adherence to the doctrine of non-intervention. Intervention means disunion. Intervention, whether by the North or by the South, whether for or against slavery, tends directly to disunion. Upon this identical question, an attempt is now being made to divide and destroy the Democratic party; because the minority of interventionists could not intimidate the majority into an abandonment of the doctrine of non-intervention, they have seceded from the organization of the Democratic party, and are endeavouring to form a new party in hostility to it. Secession from the Democratic party means secession from the Federal Union. Those who enlist under the secession banner now will be expected on the 4th of March next to take up arms against the constituted authorities in certain contingencies. We have been told that in a certain event the South must finally, must forcibly resist the inauguration of the President elect, while we find those who are loudest in their threats of such resistance engaged in the scheme to divide and destroy the Democratic party, and thereby secure the election of the Republican candidate. Does not this line of policy look to disunion? Intelligent men must be presumed to understand the tendency and consequences of their own actions. Can the seceders fail to perceive that their efforts to divide and defeat the Democratic party, if successful, must lead directly to the secession of the Southern States. I trust that they will see what must be the result of such a policy, and return to the organization and platform of the party before it is too late to save the country. The Union must be preserved. The Constitution must be maintained inviolate. And it is our mission, under Divine Providence, as I believe, to save the Constitution and the Union from the assaults of Northern abolitionists and Southern disunionists."

And Breckenridge, in his letter of acceptation dated July

6th, gives his opinion on the functions of Congress as to slavery in the territories :—

"The questions touching the rights of persons and property, which have of late been much discussed, find in these resolutions a constitutional solution. Our Union is a Confederacy of equal sovereign States, for the purposes enumerated in the Federal Constitution. Whatever the common Government holds in trust for all the States must be enjoyed equally by each. It controls the territories in trust for all the States. Nothing less than sovereignty can destroy or impair the rights of persons or property. The Territorial Governments are subordinate and temporary, and not sovereign; hence they cannot destroy or impair the rights of persons or property. While they continue to be territories they are under the control of Congress; but the Constitution nowhere confers on any branch of the Federal Government the power to discriminate against the rights of the States or the property of their citizens in the territories. It follows, that the citizens of all the States may enter the territories of the Union with their property, of whatever kind, and enjoy it during the territorial condition without let or hindrance, either by Congress or by the subordinate Territorial Governments."

Section 2. *The Republican Nominations.*

The Republican Convention met at Chicago on the 16th of May, and presented a marked contrast to the noisy and disunited cabals at Charleston and Baltimore. Two days were occupied in arranging preliminaries, and on the 18th the election of candidates was proceeded with. The general opinion for some months had been that Mr. Seward of New York would be the chosen candidate, but his party had considerably overrated their strength. There were thirteen candidates first balloted for, but the result showed that the real contest was between Seward and Lincoln (of Illinois): the friends of the remaining candidates, seeing the hopelessness of their success, mostly transferred their suffrages to the two leaders, Lincoln obtaining the larger share,

as will be seen from the votes given in each of the three ballots taken :—

Candidates.	First Ballot.	Second Ballot.	Third Ballot.
Mr. Lincoln	173½	181	354
„ Seward	102	184½	110½
„ Bates	48	35	—
„ Cameron	50½	2	—
„ M'Lean	12	8	½
„ Chase	49	42½	—
„ Wade	3	—	—
„ Dayton	14	10	1
„ Read	1	—	—
„ Fremont	1	—	—
„ Collander	10	—	—
„ Sumner	1	—	—
„ Clay	—	2	—
Whole Number of Votes ..	465	465	466
Necessary to a choice	233	233	234

The third ballot, as at first announced, stood : 230½ for Lincoln and 235½ for the other candidates ; but the votes of a number of States, in all 123½, were changed in favour of Lincoln, at the request of the delegates. Thus the final ballot was : Lincoln, 354 ; Seward, 110½ ; Dayton, 1 ; M'Lean, ½—total 466. Lincoln therefore was declared the choice of the Convention. The meeting then proceeded to elect the candidates for the Vice-Presidency, and Hannibal Hamlin of Maine was fixed upon at the close of the second ballot.

The platform of the Republican party opens by declaring its adherence to the great principles contained in the Declaration of Independence, and embodied in the Federal Constitution. "That all men are created equal, and that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights ; that amongst

these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." It declares that as it is to the *Union* of the States that the nation owes its great progress, and its increasing importance amongst the nations of the earth, all attempts at dissolution must be imperatively opposed. It acknowledges the "States' rights" principle, denounces the interference of one State with the affairs of another, and the meddling of Congress with the internal government of any. It rebukes the then present Government for its corruption and maladministration, and for the manner it had winked at recent reopenings of the African slave trade. It repudiates the "new dogma" that the Constitution favours the introduction of slavery into the territories, and declares that as the normal condition of the said districts is that of freedom, no government, either Congressional or Territorial, has the right to "give legal existence to slavery in any territory of the United States." It brands the recent vetos of the governors of the territories of Kansas and Nebraska, of the Abolition Acts passed by the Legislatures of those territories, as nothing less than deception and fraud, and demands the immediate admission of Kansas as a free State. The remaining clauses of the document relate to finance, improvement, public works, and foreign affairs. A reprint of the entire manifesto will be found in the Appendix, along with the platforms of the Democratic and Union parties, in the form they were finally agreed to.

A comparison of each of the four documents with the "Constitution of the United States," likewise reprinted in the Appendix, will tend to lead all Englishmen, at all events, to favour the Republican programme. In principle it is strictly constitu-

tional, and the carrying out of its ideas would be eminently calculated to preserve the Union and promote the prosperity of the entire people.

In the matter of slavery, as it at present exists, the policy of the party is non-intervention. The slave-holders are guaranteed the integrity of their institution within their own States, and the resumption of all fugitives is provided for. The objectionable feature, from a Southern point of view, is the doctrine of slave restriction, and it is the presence of this feature which has produced the treasonable demonstrations at the South. Slavedom is fully aware that diffusion is essential to the perpetuation of its power, and slave-owners know likewise that, deprived of expansion, their labour system would soon cease to be a paying institution. After all, we do not think that either North or South, singly, have any right to *monopolize* the territorial domains of the Union.

SECTION 3. *The Constitutional Union Party*

held its Convention at Baltimore, and on the 20th May, 1860, nominated Mr. John Bell of Tennessee as its candidate for the Presidency, and Mr. Edward Everett of Massachusetts for the Vice-Presidency. Mr. Bell and his supporters deprecate all discussion of the slave question: Congress, they say, ought to have nothing to do with it; the matter ought therefore to be dismissed from the Halls of the National Legislature, and the attention of the Government confined to topics of more general and vital interest. Good theoretic philosophy, but unfortunately not practicable in the present state of the Union. However willing

Mr. Bell might be to ignore the great slavery controversy, slavedom at present would not allow him to do it.

The policy of the Unionists is well stated in the following extract from the *Address of the Union Electoral Committee to the Union Men of New York*:—

"The issues that formerly divided parties seem to have become entirely obsolete. There is no longer any partisan controversy upon the subject of a national bank, internal improvements, the acquisition of territory, or a protective tariff. Some of these questions indeed survive, but they survive as differences between individuals, and no longer indicate the boundaries of parties. One only question, the question of slavery, agitates the American people, and lies at the foundation of all our party divisions. And even upon this subject the controversy is mainly restricted to a single phase of the question. It is universally admitted that there is no power in the general government to legislate upon the subject of slavery in the States of the Union, whether to establish, or abolish, or regulate, or interfere with it in any manner whatsoever. Upon this whole subject the States, confessedly and beyond controversy, are sovereign. But the question that disturbs the harmony, and threatens the existence of the Union, is the less important one of slavery in those territorial possessions which are not yet sufficiently populous to be admitted as States into the Union, and over which Congress is vested with general legislative powers. What shall be the condition of those territories, and who shall determine it? That is the question upon which the whole controversy hinges. And hence have arisen the sectional hatreds, the violence of mobs, the disruption of religious societies and of parties, and the schemes of disunion that threaten the existence of our fabric of free Government. The opening of that question was, as has happily been said, the opening of Pandora's box; to close it, is to close the only serious controversy that disturbs the peace of the Union.

"Upon this question, so fruitful of evil, we have no less than four parties, all of which propose different remedies and modes of settlement.

"We have a Northern Sectional party, that demands that Congress shall prohibit slavery in all the territories of the United States.

"A Southern Sectional party, that demands that Congress shall uphold slavery in all the territories of the United States.

"A party that demands that Congress shall not interfere with slavery in the territories at all, but that the people of the territories shall determine the question themselves.

"And lastly, we have a party established for the very purpose of crushing agitation and restoring harmony, and which, in the mode by which it seeks to accomplish this object, differs materially from all the other parties. This Union party has laid down no platform, and established no test, other than are contained

in the solemn declaration of its attachment to the Union, fidelity to the Constitution, and obedience to the laws. Platforms upon the subject of slavery are of modern origin, and experience shows that instead of settling disputes, their tendency is to engender and increase them. Our fathers tolerated, without attempting to smother or disguise, the natural and almost unavoidable differences that exist between Northern and Southern men upon this question. To that old and approved practice the Union party has returned."

Section 4. *The Election.*

The election came off on the 6th of November, and, as is well known, the Republican candidates obtained the victory. The following is from the official statement of the result made by the Electoral College:—

FREE STATES.	President.				Vice-President.			
	Lincoln.	Breckenridge.	Bell.	Douglas.	Hamlin.	Lane.	Everett.	Johnson.
California	4	..	..	..	4	..	..	..
Connecticut	6	..	..	..	6	..	..	..
Illinois	11	..	..	..	11	..	..	..
Indiana	13	..	..	..	13	..	..	..
Iowa	4	..	..	..	4	..	..	..
Maine	8	..	..	..	8	..	..	..
Massachusetts	13	..	..	..	13	..	..	..
Michigan	6	..	..	..	6	..	..	..
Minnesota	4	..	..	..	4	..	..	..
New Hampshire	5	..	..	..	5	..	..	..
New Jersey	4	..	..	3	4	..	..	3
New York	35	..	..	..	35	..	..	..
Ohio	23	..	..	..	23	..	..	..
Oregon	3	..	..	..	3	..	..	..
Pennsylvannia	27	..	..	..	27	..	..	..
Rhode Island	4	..	..	..	4	..	..	..
Vermont	5	..	..	..	5	..	..	..
Wisconsin	5	..	..	..	5	..	..	..
Total ..	180	..	..	3	180	..	..	3

SLAVE STATES.	PRESIDENT.				VICE-PRESIDENT.			
	Lincoln.	Breckenridge.	Bell.	Douglas.	Hamlin.	Lane.	Everett.	Johnson.
Alabama	..	9	..	..	..	9	..	..
Arkansas	..	4	..	..	..	4	..	..
Delaware	..	3	..	..	..	3	..	..
Florida	..	3	..	..	..	3	..	..
Georgia	..	10	..	..	..	10	..	..
Kentucky	..	..	12	..	..	..	12	..
Louisiana	..	6	..	.	..	6	..	..
Maryland	..	8	..	..	..	8	..	..
Mississippi	..	7	..	..	..	7	..	..
Missouri	..	..	..	9	..	..	..	9
North Carolina	..	10	..	..	..	10	..	..
South Carolina	..	8	..	..	..	8	..	..
Tennessee	..	..	12	..	..	..	12	..
Texas	..	4	..	..	..	4	..	..
Virginia	..	..	15	..	..	..	15	..
Total ..	..	72	39	9	..	72	39	9

RECAPITULATION.

	Total Number of Votes.	Given to			
		Lincoln.	Breckenridge.	Bell.	Douglas.
Free States ..	183	180	..	..	3
Slave States ..	120	..	72	39	9
Total	303	180	72	39	12

Thus it will be seen that whilst the North almost plumped for Lincoln—three votes only being given to Douglas—the South divided its vote in the proportion of 60 per cent. for Breckenridge and ultra pro-slaveryism, 32½ per cent. for Bell and the Union, and 7½ per cent. for Douglas and squatter sovereignty.

The "popular vote" differed in detail from the above. The following are the figures:—

FREE STATES.	Republican. Lincoln.	Democrat. Douglas.	Democrat. Breckenridge.	Union. Bell.
California	39,173	38,516	34,334	6,817
Connecticut	43,792	15,522	14,641	*3,291
Illinois	172,161	160,215	2,404	4,913
Indiana	139,033	115,509	12,295	5,306
Iowa	70,409	55,111	1,048	1,763
Maine	62,811	26,693	6,368	2,046
Massachusetts ..	106,533	34,372	5,939	22,331
Michigan	88,480	65,057	805	405
Minnesota	22,069	11,920	748	62
New Hampshire ..	37,519	25,881	2,112	441
New Jersey	58,324	*62,801	..	..
New York	353,804	*303,329	..	..
Ohio	231,610	187,232	11,405	12,194
Oregon	5,270	3,951	5,006	183
Pennsylvania ..	268,030	16,765	*178,871	12,776
Rhode Island ..	12,244	*7,707	..	..
Vermont	33,808	6,849	218	1,969
Wisconsin	86,110	65,021	888	161
Total ..	1,831,180	1,202,451	277,082	74,658
SLAVE STATES.				
Alabama	..	13,651	48,831	27,875
Arkansas	..	5,227	28,732	20,094
Delaware	3,815	1,023	7,337	3,864
Florida	..	367	8,543	5,437
Georgia	..	11,590	51,889	42,886
Kentucky	1,364	25,651	53,143	66,058
Louisiana	..	7,625	22,681	20,204
Maryland	2,294	5,966	42,482	41,760
Mississippi	..	3,283	40,797	25,040
Missouri	17,028	58,801	31,317	58,372
North Carolina ..	..	2,701	48,539	44,990
South Carolina ..	Electors chosen by the Legislature.			
Tennessee	..	11,350	64,709	69,274
Texas	..	..	47,548	*15,438
Virginia	1,929	16,290	74,323	74,681
Total	26,430	163,525	540,871	515,973
Grand Total ..	1,857,610	1,365,976	847,953	590,631

Thus Lincoln obtained a majority over Douglas of 491,634, over Breckenridge of 1,009,657, and over Bell of 1,266,979 votes.

* Fusion votes.

PART II.

HISTORY OF THE SECESSION MOVEMENT.

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HISTORY OF THE SECESSION MOVEMENT.

CHAPTER I.

MOVEMENTS AT THE SOUTH.—MEETING OF CONGRESS.

SECTION 1. *Doings of South Carolina, &c.*

As soon as the result of the election was known, South Carolina commenced her career towards secession. The people had been worked up to the highest pitch of excitement by the treasonable tirades of the leading fire-eaters, and the call for a secession Convention was eagerly seconded. The Bill was passed unanimously on the 10th November (the Convention being appointed to meet on the 17th December). At the close of the proceedings the Hon. R. B. Rhett delivered himself of a characteristic oration, from which we quote the following passages :—

"And now they have consummated their scheme of tyranny, by electing a Black Republican President to rule you. So long have you submitted, that they have lost all respect for you. They despise and contemn you. They think you a low, degraded, mean-spirited set of semi-barbarians, with very little more ourage than

your own negroes; and they have had the audacity, the insolence, the unparalleled, the audacious insolence, to suppose that we of the South—we South Carolinians—would submit to a Black Republican President and a mulatto! Well, my friends, what are we going to do? Or, rather, what have we done? Why, we have dissolved this Union with our oppressors. We have said to the North, we are done with you. I read somewhere, the other day, that South Carolina was like a spoilt and fretful child, and needed spanking. Do you hear that, fellow-citizens? Some Yankee says that South Carolina needs spanking, and is a spoilt child!

"Fellow-citizens, I can tell them that we are the Samson that will take hold of the pillars of the temple of their idolatry, and pull it down upon them, and crush them beneath its fragments. Could I raise my voice, until its tones reached the majesty of thunder, I would cry in notes of thunder, until it rolled over every village and city and hamlet of the North: 'This Union is dissolved!' Had I the power, I would go and write on the walls of their banqueting halls—'this Union is dissolved!' I would go to the fanatic, the manufacturer, to the plunderer who has fattened upon us like the vulture upon garbage, and I would tell him in trumpet tones—'This Union is dissolved!' I would go to the politician, the cunning trickster who has deceived them, and not in the tones of thunder, but would whisper in his ear in the still small voice of conscience—'This Union is dissolved!'

"And now, fellow-citizens, let me tell you what will follow the dissolution of the Union, and mark my words:—when the cotton States go out of this Union, as they all finally will, two consequences will ensue at the North: first, the people at the North, finding the protection to their manufactures which the tariff affords them gone—finding that instead of Northern shipping doing all the carrying of the South, European shipping will underbid it, and throw it out of employment—will turn upon the Abolition politicians and demand bread. Why, what do these politicians teach them now? Is it not that the country owes to every Yankee both a farm and a support? Is it not that they have a right to expect from the government a farm in the West? And when they begin to starve, will they not cry aloud for bread? Yes, fellow-citizens, and the first great consequence of a dissolution of the Union will be, that they will rise upon those who have deceived them, and crush the Abolition party to the dust! And then, mark you, will spring up a great Union party at the North. They will make a tremendous effort to reconstruct this Confederacy. They will say to the South,—Why, look here, you men of the South, there has been a mistake. We didn't intend to hurt you, except a little bit. To be sure we have been living on you for forty years. But we didn't think you minded it much. We have called you, too, all sorts of bad names. But come, now, we'll take all that back. Let us make friends. Come, return to our fraternal embrace. What do you want? There, now, stick it in the Constitution."

The ideas expressed towards the close of the extract

are very popular at the South. At the commencement of the crisis, most of the leading politicians advocated the immediate secession of the whole of the slave States *en masse*; with the intention of subsequently applying for readmission into the Union.

Later on the governors of Mississippi, Virginia, and Georgia called for similar Conventions. The object of Lincoln and his party, said the first, was to override the Constitution, and to employ the Federal power to destroy the peace, property, and prosperity of the South; the proclamation of the second was more moderate, and suggested a Convention of the people for the purpose of calmly considering the condition of public affairs, and deciding what action it was necessary to pursue under the circumstances; but the governor of Georgia declared for immediate secession, and in a speech made on the 12th November, he said that should Georgia see fit to secede, he would resist to the last extremity any attempt made to coerce her back, and remarked, in conclusion, that every Georgian that was killed in the act of resistance should be avenged with the death of two of those whom he was fighting.

SECTION 2. *Opinions of the Press.*

The press, the great exponent of public opinion everywhere, but still proverbially extravagant and bombastic in America, was, if anything, still more violent. The *Mobile Register* (November 17) declared a common government for North and South impossible. The *Petersburg* (Virginia) recommended its readers to "trust in God and keep their powder dry." The *New Orleans Crescent* (November 9th) remarked that:—

"The people of the North, in electing Mr. Lincoln, have perpetrated a deliberate cold-blooded insult and outrage upon the people of the slave-holding States."

The *Southern Confederacy* (Georgia) suggested non-intercourse with the free States in matters of trade; that the debts due to Northerners should be repudiated; and that the Senator and Members of Congress resign at once, or be considered arrant hypocrites and paltry peace fanatics.

We give these extracts as samples representative of the opinions of a large number of Southern newspapers; but a good portion of the South-Western, and nearly all of the frontier slave States' editors, advocated moderation and caution, and for the most part condemned the precipitate action of South Carolina. The *Canton Citizen* (Mississippi), November 10th, declared its unwillingness to join any party "that does not carry the flag, and keep step to the music of the Union." The *Memphis Enquirer* (Tennessee), November 13th, was of the opinion that secession was not demanded by the general sentiment of the South. The *St. Louis Republican*, though regretting the election of Mr. Lincoln, considered that if he stood by the Constitution the South would have nothing to fear; it would be time enough for the South to strike if its rights were positively interfered with. The *Missouri Statesman* was satisfied with the election, because it was perfectly constitutional; it is the large negro-mongers of the North, and the abolition traitors of the North who are the enemies of the Confederation; the *people*, the honest, patriotic, tax-paying masses of *all parties* love the Union, and will not allow it to be dissolved because of the election of a President distasteful to a minority.

The *Border State* (Maryland) considered the whole affair but a tempest in a tea-pot, a fit subject for ridicule.

SECTION 3. *The general sentiment of the South against Secession.*

The public opinion of the South, when the first surprise caused by Lincoln's election had cooled down, was decidedly against disunion; and the people of America have to thank President Buchanan for the change which subsequently took place in the Southern mind.

When the news of Lincoln's success first reached Washington, the effect was electric on the host of office-holders resident in the city; they became most infuriated, and declared for secession forthwith, some of them going so far as to affirm their readiness to resist by force the inauguration of the successful candidate. But on the following day there was a complete calm, if not reaction. The correspondent of the *New York Herald* (a Democratic organ), writing on the 8th November, remarked that, in the really influential circles of Washington, all was calmness and composure. The excitement was confined to political clubs and committees. Two or three ardent young fellows, connected with some of the departments, appeared in the neighbourhood of the General Post Office, with disunion cockades in their hats, but were laughed at for their pains, and quietly disappeared. The same writer also declared that it was the prevailing opinion that at heart the discontented States, whatever they might say, or however they might bluster, did not mean to secede. The

strong common sense of the people would not allow things to come to a crisis. "The love of the Union is still proved to be a deep-seated and ineradicable sentiment in the hearts of the people, even of the seceding States. Letters from every one of them attest this. Disunion is looked on with abhorrence, apart from all considerations of its absolute impracticability." The mercantile and moneyed interests were, and are still, adverse to disunion: even in Charleston, said the *Herald's* correspondent on the 15th November, "the business men, and artizans, and mechanics, and all the professional classes, are decidedly opposed to secession."

Southern Conservatives urged South Carolina to stay her proceedings, and wait the result of Lincoln's inauguration. In the mean time they suggested a conference of all the slave States, to calmly discuss the question at issue between North and South, and to draw up a statement of Southern grievances, for presentation to Congress, as the only conditions on which the slave States could remain in the Union. The principal conditions claimed were—the repeal of the Northern statutes nullifying the Fugitive Slave Law; the right of slave-owners to carry their "property" into the common territories of the Union; the passing of a law rendering it illegal for Congress to interfere with the internal slave trade, or with slavery in the Federal forts, &c., &c.

But South Carolina was implacable. She had, in reality, no fondness for the Union, but, on the contrary, had long had a desire, and been preparing her population, for secession. Her ambition was to exist as an independent nation, and she

was determined not to let the first plausible opportunity pass by without endeavouring to accomplish her purpose. Besides all this, her politicians had committed themselves to a treasonable policy, and were bound, for the sake of consistency, and to avoid being pointed at as cowards and blusterers—venders of bunkum—to make a demonstration. Hence everything was precipitated, and long before the meeting of the secession Convention, the preliminaries of dissolution were commenced. Federal officers resigned their posts. The national banner was degraded, and the Palmetto flag flaunted in its stead. The "mean whites," officered by the Brooks type of slave-owners, formed themselves into the nucleus of a revolutionary army; "rank and file" being alike animated by the basest of motives. Moderate men remonstrated, but in vain, and very soon all freedom of opinion and discussion was interdicted. All who did not go with the insurgent tide were branded as abolitionists, and threatened with expulsion from the State.

The objects of the Unionists being thus frustrated, the several States concluded to act by themselves; and for this purpose extraordinary Conventions were appointed to meet, consider, and decide the course each State would pursue independently of the rest, in the event of no compromise being adopted by Congress before the 4th of March.

In the mean time, all parties looked forward with anxiety to the appearance of President Buchanan's Annual Message, for upon the tenor of that document, it was acknowledged on all sides, depended the course of events in the future.

SECTION 4. *Meeting of Congress.—President's Message.*

The Congress assembled on the 3rd December and the Annual Presidential Message was delivered to both Houses on the following day.

Such a feeble, vacillating, inconsistent, pusillanimous, and glaringly partizan document was perhaps never delivered by any previous occupant of the White House. That portion of the Message which relates to the great crisis will be found in the Appendix to the present work. A perusal of it left the impression on our mind that the whole was an elaborate defence of the South; but still we were led to believe that so irresolute and contradictory a document could not have been the production of *one* mind, or the manifesto of an *united* Cabinet. The paper bears internal evidence of having been well patched; and from the rumours of a ministerial crisis which were current just before the Message was delivered, and the fact that several of the ultra-Southern members of the Government soon after resigned, there is every reason to believe that President Buchanan had been compelled, by the pro-secession portion of his Cabinet, to append his signature to a meaningless and unintelligible concourse of words. It is not surprising therefore that the document gave general dissatisfaction.

Throughout the Message the free States are reprimanded, and the slave States condoled. The crisis is traced to "the long-continued and intemperate interference of the Northern people with the question of slavery in the Southern States,"

and to the Northern "incessant and violent agitation," which has produced a "malign influence on the slaves," and deprived the family altars of the South of all sense of security. The Message dwells pathetically upon the condition of Southern matrons, who retire at night in dread of what may befal themselves and children before the morning; and boldly asserts, that if the demands of the slave-holders are not listened to, "disunion will become inevitable." But Mr. Buchanan trusts that such a calamity will not befal the great nation; still he seems to have no faith in the North's willingness to meet the difficulty fairly and honestly, and adopt such means as shall place the Southern "institution," *as it exists in the States*, beyond the power of Congressional interference. The North alone is branded as the aggressor, and the injured innocence of the South as the aggrieved. Like a spoilt child, the South must have all it demands. The twenty millions of free men must submit to the wilfulness of about half a million of slave-holders. The Republican party must give up its victory, and quietly and submissively submit to the yoke of slavedom. During the past twenty-five years, the South has been the victim of Northern virulence—the hunted lambs of Northern wolves. Not a word is said of Texan filibusterers, of the imposition of slavery upon people who had previously banished the barbarism from their shores; not a syllable respecting the repeal of the Missouri compromise, except in justification thereof; no mention of the villainous perpetrations in Kansas, the pillagings and murders committed by "border ruffians;" no account of the Walker exploits; the invasion of Cuba; the revival of the execrable

external slave traffic. No—on the contrary, the Message asks that the South be let alone! It must be allowed to spread the blighting influence of its infamous "institution," all over the territories, under the patronage of the central Government, and in defiance of the inhabitants of those territories, and the remonstrances of two-thirds of the entire nation. "Unless this shall be done without unnecessary delay, it is impossible for any human power to save the Union." "The injured States would be justified in revolutionary resistance to the Government of the Union;" and though such a step would be rebellion to the Government, the Constitution does not allow the "powers that be" to punish the traitors! Can we be surprised that such an exposition of the "Constitution" was received with approbation by the discontented States, and that the effect of it was to precipitate the revolution—State after State following the lead of South Carolina, whose secession ordinance was passed on the 17th December. How different was the conduct of General Jackson on a similar occasion in 1833! Though a Southerner, *he* proposed no compromises or constitutional amendments, but at once called upon Congress for increased powers and means to put down the rebellion, and was prepared, had his request been refused, to take upon himself the responsibility of quelling the sedition. Instead of refusing to send down reinforcements to the Federal forts, he filled the military posts of Charleston with troops, and blockaded the harbour with a naval squadron. All the world knows the result.

That portion of the Message relating to the crisis, which

will be found reprinted in the Appendix, was referred, for consideration, to two special committees: one of the Senate, composed of thirteen members; and one of the House of Representatives, composed of thirty-three members—one from each State of the Union.

CHAPTER II.

Secession and the Constitution.

Has any State the right, of its own sovereign will and pleasure, to secede from the Union, in accordance with the Constitution, and without doing violence to the Constitutional rights of the other members of the Confederacy? The great bulk of the American people, with President Buchanan, whose last Annual Message goes fully into the matter, say no; the slave-holders say yes.

The Constitution is silent on the subject; and it is evident that the framers of that document never once thought that such a doctrine would have been broached. The very cause that called for the present "Constitution" was the inadequacy of the old Articles of Confederation to bind the States together. Down to 1787 the State Government did not owe implicit obedience to the Federal power: any individual State could acquiesce in, or reject, the measures of the Central Government as it chose. It is not surprising, therefore, that the Government of the country could not be properly carried on. To remedy the evil, a Convention of the people of all the States was called, and the result was the unanimous adoption of the "*Constitution of the United States of America*" as it now stands.

The preamble of this celebrated instrument states the object of the framers to be *the formation of a more perfect Union*, and the thirteenth article declares that "the articles of this Confederation shall be inviolably observed by every State, *and the Union shall be perpetual.*" It was not the concoction of a clique, nor the exposition of a mere delegation from each of the States; but the expression of all the people in all the States. It was as literally the creation of the people as were the constitutions of the several States, and is as *binding upon each individual* of the separate States as their own provincial laws; nay more—no members of the States' Legislature, no official of the States' judicatory, can enter upon their duties until they have taken oath, or affirmation, to support the National Constitution, which is declared to be *the supreme law of the land*, to which the laws of the separate States must conform. "No State can enter into any treaty, alliance, or confederation; grant letters of marque and reprisal; coin money; emit bills of credit; make anything but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts; pass any bill of attainder, *ex post facto law*, or law impairing the law of contracts." Moreover, "without the consent of Congress, no State shall lay any imposts or duties on any imports or exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for the execution of its inspection laws;" and if they exceed this amount, the excess shall belong to the United States. And "no State shall, without the consent of Congress, lay any duty of tonnage; keep troops, or ships of war, in time of peace; enter into any agreement or compact with another State, or with a foreign

power; or engage in war, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent danger as will not admit of delay." (See "Constitution" in Appendix).

"In short," says President Buchanan—

"The Government created by the Constitution, and deriving its authority from the sovereign people of each of the several States, has precisely the same right to exercise its power over the people of all these States, in the enumerated cases, that each one of them possesses over subjects not delegated to the United States, but 'reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.'

"To the extent of the delegated powers the Constitution of the United States is as much a part of the constitution of each State, and is as binding upon its people as though it had been textually inserted therein.

"This Government, therefore, is a great and powerful Government, invested with all the attributes of sovereignty over the special subjects to which its authority extends. Its framers never intended to implant in its bosom the seeds of its own destruction, nor were they at its creation guilty of the absurdity of providing for its own dissolution. It was not intended by its framers to be the baseless fabric of a vision, which, at the touch of the enchanter, would vanish into thin air, but a substantial and mighty fabric, capable of resisting the slow decay of time and of defying the storms of ages. Indeed, well may the jealous patriots of that day have indulged fears that a Government of such high powers might violate the reserved rights of the States, and wisely did they adopt the rule of a strict construction of these powers to prevent the danger. But they did not fear, nor had they any reason to imagine, that the Constitution would ever be so interpreted as to enable any State, by her own act, and without the consent of her sister States, to discharge her people from all or any of their federal obligations."

Attorney-General Black, in reply to a communication received from the President in November last, thus defines the relation between the State and Federal Governments:—

"Within their respective spheres of action the Federal Government and the Government of a State are both of them independent and supreme, but each is utterly powerless beyond the limits assigned to it by the Constitution. If Congress would attempt to change the law of descents, to make a new rule of personal succession, or to dissolve the family relations existing in any State, the act would be simply void, but not more void than would be a State law to prevent the recapture of fugitives from labour, to forbid the carrying of the mails, or to stop the collection of duties on imports. The will of a State, whether expressed in its constitution or laws, cannot, while it remains in the Confederacy, absolve her

people from the duty of obeying the just and constitutional requirements of the Central Government. Nor can any act of the Central Government displace the jurisdiction of a State, because the laws of the United States are supreme and binding only so far as they are passed in pursuance of the Constitution. I do not say what might be effected by mere revolutionary force: I am speaking of legal and constitutional right."

Clearly, then, secession is revolution, treason, rebellion against the Constitution, and, by inference, punishable as the law provides. Of course, if the Constitution has been violated, or if it has been falsely interpreted or nullified, either by the general Government, or any of the States which have taken part in the compact—such revolution would be justifiable, but still it would be revolution; to call it by any other name is simply a perversion of nomenclature. But let Americans themselves speak.

General Jackson in his Special Message, delivered, to Congress on the 16th January, 1833—pending the action of South Carolina — expressed himself in most unequivocal languago:—

"The right of the people of a single State to absolve themselves at will, and without the consent of the other States, from their most solemn obligations, and hazard the liberty and happiness of the millions composing this Union, cannot be acknowledged. Such authority is believed to be utterly repugnant both to the principles upon which the general Government is constituted and to the objects which it was expressly formed to attain."

Mr. Doolittle made the following pertinent remarks on the subject, in the Senate, on the 27th December last:—

"But I say the Constitution of the United States speaks in language clear enough that it is not in the power of one out of ten, or of one hundred, or of all the citizens of a State, to annul an act of Congress, because the Constitution of the United States, and an act in pursuance of it, is a supreme law of that State, and binding upon every citizen of that State, and every citizen must act at his peril. Now, if this doctrine is true, that a State by its own mere motion can

assemble in convention a mass of its citizens, by resolutions dissolve its connexion with the Federal Government, and put an end to the supremacy of the Constitution and laws of the United States, several other consequences must follow. If one State can secede from all the rest, I suppose the Senator from Louisiana will not deny but that all the rest can secede from one, and that of necessity gives to this Government the power to expel a State. Your right of secession involves the right of expulsion. Let us go a little further, and see how this doctrine would apply in time of war. We were engaged in a war with Great Britain in 1812, and the New England States, it is said, were rather disaffected, and met in Convention at Hartford. Now, if the doctrine of the gentleman is correct, any of the New England States could have resolved itself out at its pleasure and gone over to the enemy. Our fortresses in Boston Harbour, which we had manned, built, and filled with munitions and guns, they might have withdrawn from and surrendered to the enemy, and turned our own guns upon us. This is the consequence of this doctrine. But, again, take it in time of peace. Apply the doctrine to Pennsylvania, that she, by a simple resolution of her people, can withdraw from the United States. She could cut off all the mail routes going across Pennsylvania, and we could not go from Virginia to New York without going across a foreign country. So, too, with Illinois; if this doctrine is correct, we of the North-West could be cut off entirely from the East; and, especially if the Union is to be broken up, we could not go to New York except by leave of Illinois, or without going through the State of Kentucky; and you propose to make that a foreign jurisdiction."

Judge Wade of Ohio said:—

"It is claimed that you have a right to secede at your pleasure. I cannot find any warrant for doctrine like that in the Constitution. In my judgment, it would be subversive of constitutional obligations. If that is so, we have no Government. It would reduce this Union to a mere conglomeration of States, to be held together at the will of any captious member of it. The State of South Carolina is a small State; but, probably, if she was sunk by an earthquake, we should hardly find it out, except by the unwonted harmony that would prevail in this chamber. I say this from no ill will. I think she is unwise. I would be willing to let her go out if we could do so without an example fatal to all government. But, standing here, my wishes must be controlled by constitutional duty. I don't see how any man can contend that a State can go out of the Government at pleasure. The question was reviewed thirty years ago, and received a verdict which it was supposed had set it at rest for ever. By General Jackson, and the men who surrounded him, it was pronounced a delusion, and utterly disruptive of all Governments. Yet, here it is to-day, blooming and fresh. Mr. Calhoun, even, held to the doctrine that we have power to make war on a State. You will find this doctrine in his long letter to Governor Hamilton. I acknowledge, to the fullest extent, the right of revolution, if you so call it—a

right to destroy the Government and erect another on its ruins more in accordance with your wishes. But when you undertake it you undertake it with this provision,—if you are successful, all is right. You are heroes. But, if you are defeated, you are rebels. That is the character of revolutions; if successful, all well; if unsuccessful, the Government treats them as traitors."

And Senator Crittenden of Kentucky, on the 7th January, 1861, was equally explicit:—

"He did not believe in the doctrine of secession. It was a new doctrine; and an attempt to secede with the bold front of resolution is nothing but lawless violation of the law and the Constitution. But he only wanted to bear his testimony to the Constitution, and to let it be known that the Constitution cannot be broken. If a State wishes to secede, let them proclaim revolution boldly, and not attempt to hide themselves under little subtleties of law and claim the right of secession. A constitutional right to break the Constitution was a new doctrine. He argued that Mr. Webster always went against any right of secession. On one side was an asked concession, and on the other side was civil war."

The duty of Government then, in case of rebellion, or, more euphemistically, secession, is clear—to enforce the laws. But the position of the executive in this respect is peculiar.

The President is bound "to take care that the laws be faithfully executed" in all the States; but the duty must be performed through the recognized Federal officials resident in the States. The anomalous case of a State *without* Federal officers, either through resignation or ejectment, is however unprovided for. If the United States functionaries are opposed in carrying out the Federal laws, the President can call out the militia or employ the army and navy to quell the rebellion; but the case is different when an entire State, militia and Federal officers and all, are up in arms against the Government, and declare their "independence." Under such circumstances the action of the executive is rendered possible only by an armed invasion of the delinquent State; and such a mode of

asserting the dignity of the Government would be a violation of the whole spirit of the Constitution.

When the people of the independent colonies met together in convocation for the purpose of uniting themselves under a common Government they subscribed to the Articles of Confederation voluntarily; and had one State out of the original thirteen decided to remain by itself it could have done so—the twelve could not have compelled it to join them. Hence, though the United States adopted a common flag, a common currency, common laws, and common institutions, and thus became *a nation* in every sense of the word, the compact was voluntarily dissoluble by the same power that formed it; viz., a Convention of the whole people. The Constitution (Article 5) gives such a Convention power to amend it, and consequently to amend it out of existence. But the case is different when only a minority of the States seek to demolish the Union: having subscribed to its Articles, they must abide by them; to do otherwise would be revolution.

Then comes the question—what is to be done with a recreant State? So far as the executive is concerned it must act purely on the defensive. The President must protect the Federal property, such as forts, arsenals, &c., and collect the national revenue. Should any State take possession of the former, as several of the Southern States have already done, the President can recover and retain them by force, but nothing more; the State must not be invaded, unless the people of the remaining States, thinking that their interests might be interfered with by allowing the existence of a *foreign* country in their midst,

amended the Constitution in such a manner as to admit of the executive resorting to the dread work of conquering and holding the rebellious State as a province.

Should any State refuse to comply with the Federal revenue laws, the President can blockade the ports of the offender, establish the custom-house on board a man-of-war, and collect the revenue from all arriving vessels as they enter the harbour.

The Government can thus hem in a State and then wait patiently for the result. Such a condition of things could not exist for long; the seceders would not submit for any length of time to such a serpent coil; some fighting would probably take place, but the result would be the victory of the national arms.

Such a method of coercion would not be very difficult to carry out against a single State, or even against two or three States; but it would be almost, if not quite, impossible to deal in a similar manner with one-half the present slave States, much less the entire South. Doubtless, the united North could subdue the united South if it willed to do so; but it could not be expected that the defeated States would be reconciled to the Union by such means. They would give a kind of allegiance to the Federal power, but it would be under protest, and therefore but transient. They would have no love for the Union, and would take the earliest favourable opportunity of breaking it up. Their pride, wounded by defeat, would never let them rest until they had achieved their independence. If therefore the Union cannot be preserved by peaceful means, by mutual concessions; if the same influences which called it into being—

mutual interests and reciprocal affections—no longer exist, the Confederacy had better be peaceably dissolved.

The following extracts from the speeches of Senators Wade, Douglas, and Iverson, are worthy of perusal.

Mr. Wade, Republican, in the United States Senate, December 18th, 1860 :—

"He did not see a cause to apprehend that any party intended to make war on the seceding States; he only asserted the right to do so if they saw fit. He would not, however, counsel or advise any party to do it. He would be very tender with the rights of the people who were about to break up the Government under which they had deliberately come to the conclusion they could not live—but he apprehended that the position of the Republicans would compel them to take austere ground. Although a State secedes, they cannot recognize her right to go out of the Union until she gains the consent of the Union. The duty of the chief magistrate is to execute the law in every part of the Government. He cannot be released from this obligation. Nothing in the Constitution of the United States will warrant his saying that a single star has fallen. He is sworn not to know that a State has seceded, and to pay no respect to resolutions that declare she has done so. In doing this it does not follow that he must make war upon her; but he should exercise every Federal right over her, the most important of which is the collection of the revenue. There are many rights for the benefit of the people of a State might be dispensed with. If they do not want the mails carried the President could abolish the post-offices. They might not, perhaps, elect officers to send here, but they could do as they liked about that. They have a right to be perfectly represented here; but if they choose to forego that privilege it is not incumbent upon the President to force them to send representatives here. But the chief magistrate must collect the revenue precisely the same as in every other State. No State can be released from that obligation, for the Constitution demands it. What follows? If the seceding State shuts up her ports of entry, so that ships cannot discharge their cargoes, then ships will cease to go there; or, if the Government blockades her ports to collect revenue, she will not have gained her independence by secession. If she will feel contented to live under this equivocal state of things, all will be well, but she cannot do so. What will she do? She must take the initiative and declare war upon the United States. Then force must be met by force, and she must hew out her independence by violence and war. There was no other way under the Constitution, that he knew of, if a State secede and declare war. He did not suppose that there was a lawyer on the floor but who will say that the act of levying war is treason against the United States. That is the result, and we may as well look the matter in the face."

Mr. Douglas, Squatter Sovereignty Democrat, and late candidate for the Presidency, in the United States Senate, January 3rd, 1861 :—

"There is no other way or recourse left, to enforce the law in a seceding State, except to make war and bring the State within your possession first and then enforce the law afterward. A war between eighteen States on the one side, and fifteen seceding States on the other, is, to me, a revolting thing. For what purpose is the war to be waged? Certainly not for the purpose of preserving the Union. I have too much respect for gentlemen on the other side of the chamber, collectively and individually, to believe there is one among them who does not know what war is. You cannot expect to exterminate ten millions of people, whose passions are excited with the belief that you mean to invade their homes and light the flames of insurrection in their midst. You must expect to exterminate them, or subjugate them, or else, when you have got tired of war, to make a treaty with them. No matter whether the war lasts one year, or seven years, or thirty years, it must have an end at some time. Sooner or later both parties will become tired and exhausted; and when rendered incapable of fighting any longer, they will make a treaty of peace, and that treaty will be one of separation. The history of this world does not furnish an example of a war of sections, or between States of the same nation, where the war ended in reconciliation. Such a war always ends in a treaty of peace, and a final eternal separation. I don't understand, then, how a man can claim to be a friend of the Union, and yet be in favour of war upon ten millions of people in the Union. You cannot cover it up much longer under the pretext of love for the Union. Now, the question must be met, and whatever concessions I am called upon to make, I choose to make voluntarily, before blood is shed, and not afterward. No man has more pride of country than I. It humbles my pride to see the authority of the Government questioned, but we are not the first nation whose pride has been humbled. Republics, empires, and kingdoms alike, in all ages, have been subject to the same humiliating fact. But where there is a deep-seated discontent pervading ten millions of people, penetrating every man, woman, and child, and involving everything dear to them, it is time for inquiring whether there is not some cause for the feeling."

Mr. Iverson, Breckenridge Democrat, of Georgia, in the United States Senate, on January 28th, 1861, when announcing the secession of his State from the Union :—

"By the secession of the Southern States, and the formation of a Southern Confederacy, two great and momentous alternatives will devolve on the Federal Government. You may acquiesce in the revolution, and acknowledge the inde-

pendence of the great Confederacy, or you may make war on the seceding States and attempt to force them back. If you acknowledge our independence, and treat us as one of the nations of the earth, you can have friendly relations and intercourse with us. You can have an equitable division of the public property, and of the existing public debt of the United States. But if you make war upon us we will seize and hold all the public property in our borders and in our reach, and we will never pay one dollar of the public debt, for the law of nations will extinguish all private and public obligations between the States. The first Federal gun that is fired upon the seceding States—the first drop of blood of any of our people shed by the Federal troops—will cancel every public and private obligation of the South which may be due either to the Federal Government or the Northern people. We care not in what shape or form, or under what pretext, you undertake coercion. We shall consider all efforts to exercise authority over us as acts of war, and shall meet and resist them accordingly. You may send armies to invade us by land, or you may send ships to blockade our ports and destroy our trade and commerce with other nations. You may abolish our ports of entry, and, by an Act of Congress, attempt to collect the Federal revenue by ships of war. You may do all or any of these, or similar acts. They will be acts of war, and so understood and considered, and in whatever shape you make war we will fight you. You boast of your superior numbers and strength, but remember that 'the race is not always to the swift, nor the battle to the strong.' You have 100,000 fighting men. So have we. And, fighting upon our own soil, and to preserve our rights, and vindicate our honour and defend our homes, our firesides, our wives and children, from the invader, we shall not be easily conquered. You may possibly overrun us, desolate our fields, burn our dwellings, lay our cities in ruins, murder our people, and reduce us to beggary, but you cannot subdue and subjugate us to your will. Your conquest, if you gain a victory over us, will amount to but little. You will have to keep a standing army of 100,000 men, costing millions of money, only to keep us in subjection. You may whip us, but we will not stay whipped. We will rise again and again to vindicate our rights and liberty, and to throw off your oppressive and accursed yoke, and we will never cease the strife until our whole white race is extinguished, and our fair land given over to desolation. You will have ships of war—we may have none. You may blockade our ports and lock up our commerce. We can live, if need be, without commerce. But when you shut up our commerce from the looms of Europe we shall see whether other nations will not have something to say and something to do upon that subject. 'Cotton is King,' and will oblige you to raise your blockade and draw off your ships. I know that great hopes are raised, and great efforts made, to retain the border States in the Union. But let coercive measures be commenced against the Southern Confederacy, or any of the seceding States, and all such hopes will vanish into thin air. The first act of Federal legislation looking to coercion, the first Federal gun fired, the first Federal ship which takes its station off a Southern port, will bring all the States, including Maryland, laggard as she seems to be in

the vindication of a sound independence, into obedience and alliance with her Southern sisters; and thus united, they will resist and defy all your efforts. There are also those who, surrendering all hope of preventing the destruction of the Union, and recognizing the existing state of facts, yet hope to see it reconstructed. Sir, a war between the two sections will for ever close the door to any such project."

Hence, though secession be revolution, the Government, should the mania spread, would experience great difficulties in restoring order. The only way to save the Union is for Congress to take into consideration the avowed grievances of the discontented States, and redress them; the strong love for the Confederation which exists throughout the country would then annul the secession ordinances. Should any one State persist in asserting its separate existence, as very probably South Carolina would do, the indignation of the sister States would speedily adopt measures for bringing her to reason.

That the Union was never intended to be destroyed is clear from the whole course of legislature and the general consent of the people since the revolution. The territory of Louisiana (which now comprises the three States of Louisiana, Arkansas, and Missouri) was purchased by the Federal Government out of funds obtained from all the then existing States; the intention was to obtain possession of both banks and the mouth of the great Mississippi, for the benefit of the States through which it runs, and for this object £15,000,000 were paid to the French First Consul. Will any one maintain that under such circumstances any one of the three States named, owing as they do their very existence to the Federal Govern-

ment, have the constitutional right to withdraw from the Union at any time they please?

Again, take the case of Florida. That peninsula down to 1819 was in the possession of Spain; but the United States, thinking very naturally that the key to the Gulf of Mexico ought not to be in the keeping of a foreign power, bullied Spain into selling it, and afterwards expended a further very large sum for the removal of the aboriginal Indians further west. Extensive forts, &c., were also erected at the Federal expense, and the State has never yet paid its way. Yet the 50,000 white inhabitants who compose its population have presumed to secede from the Union, and rob the Government of its property!

Look, again, at the possessions obtained from Mexico. The war with that unfortunate country cost the United States thousands of lives, and $120,000,000 in hard cash, three-fourths of both which were furnished by the Northern States of the Union, under the impression that the acquisition of the territories bordering on the Pacific would be of benefit to them; yet the doctrine of constitutional secession would allow California, or any other States that may be formed out of the district, to leave the Union at will. Once more—it was with the assistance of Federal men and money that Texas was enabled to achieve its independence from Mexico; but it was with the strict understanding that Texas should be incorporated with the Confederation; yet her citizens now have the effrontery to claim a deed of separation!

CHAPTER III.

SECESSION DE FACTO.

SECTION 1. *Movements of South Carolina.*

WE have already stated that the Legislature of the Palmetto State had passed a Bill calling for a Convention of the people to take into consideration the relations between that State and the Federal Government, and to decide the course of action to be adopted to meet certain impending difficulties.

The Convention, as previously appointed, assembled at Columbia, the capital of the State, on the 17th December, but on the following day adjourned to Charleston. On the 19th the members had got fairly at work, and on the 20th, soon after noon, the Ordinance of Secession was passed unanimously. The announcement was received with uproarious applause by all present, and the multitudes in the city echoed the tumult. In the evening Charleston presented a busy sight, the citizens thronged the streets, and gave vent to their joy in every possible shape.

The "*Declaration of immediate causes which induce and justify the Secession of South Carolina from the Federal Union*" sets out by asserting the right of any community to alter

or abolish its form of government, when that government has become destructive of the ends for which it was established, and then proceeds to notice the particular causes which justify South Carolina in withdrawing from the American Confederacy. It asserts the original and present sovereignty of the States, and maintains that as these States formed themselves into an Union on certain conditions, any one of them can retire from Confederation when it can be shown that those conditions have not been strictly observed. It refers to the fact that the Union was formed only when the consent of two-thirds of the States had been obtained; but omits to notice the corollary which follows therefrom, that the same consent is required for its dissolution. No; South Carolina is an independent State, and can "set up on her own account" without going through the formality of consulting her sister confederates. The document closes with an appeal to Divine aid in the accomplishment of its treasonable purposes!

The whole is a miserable attempt to justify a foregone conclusion.

Three imaginary grievances are dilated upon. 1st. The nullification of the Fugitive Slave Law by counter-legislative enactments in the free States. 2nd. The rapid progress of *free* opinions in the North; the growing popularity of the idea that slavery is sinful and must be put down; and the election of Mr. Lincoln to the Presidency. 3rd. The exclusion of the South from the common territories.

Whatever may have been the loss to South Carolina from the non-rendition of slaves from the free States, there was a

constitutional remedy for the same. The laws of the United States, if properly carried out, will insure the return of all "fugitives from labour;" any enactments of the separate States to the contrary notwithstanding. If some of the free States have, as asserted, made "laws which either nullify the Acts of Congress, or render useless any attempt to execute them," the proper remedy is for Congress to assert its dignity, and demand the repeal of such laws. A little quiet remonstrance on the part of the Government would soon settle the matter.

But after all, though the border slave States may very possibly have suffered from negro desertion, it is questionable if South Carolina ever experienced the loss of more than one or two runaways since the formation of the Union. It is easy to imagine the "underground railway" to be in active operation in conveying "passengers" from Virginia, Kentucky, or Missouri; but it would be nothing short of a miracle for a negro to escape from a State so remote from the frontier of the free States as South Carolina. Such an one would have to pass through the slave States of North Carolina and Virginia or Kentucky, and in every step he would be subjected to the rules of the passport system. South Carolina's complaint on this score is therefore unfounded and extremely frivolous.

There is, perhaps, more reason in the second count. It would be contrary to human nature to suppose that the slaveholders, after having held the offices, and disposed of the patronage of the Federal Government for so many years, would quietly and submissively retire into private life at the bidding of their political opponents, whose great crime consisted in the

belief that slavery is sinful. Besides which, the slave-holders were conscious that during their long tenure of office they had behaved in the most intolerant manner towards the free States—had bullied them into compromises, and then repudiated them—had maltreated their citizens—and had attempted to deprive them of their constitutional rights in the territories; and they naturally expected that the new comers would inaugurate a policy of retaliation; that the time had come when the South was to be punished for its offences.

But here again the Constitution would have preserved them; and however prone the new administration might have been to interfere with the integrity of the institution of slavery, any practical action in that direction would have been, and is still, impossible, unless with the consent of the slave-holders themselves. Before slavery can be touched, the Constitution must be amended, and that can only be done with the consent of *three-fourths* of the whole number of States. (See *Article* V. of CONSTITUTION.) Such a combination would include *seven* of the slave States. It will be seen, then, how idle are the fears of South Carolina on account of Republican hostility to negro bondage.

Lastly, it is said that it is the intention of the Lincolnites to deprive the South of the right to settle in the territories of the Union. Another groundless fear—groundless because of the utter inability of the anti-slavery party to repeal the laws which guarantee the protection of Southern "property" in all the territories whilst they are territories.

Taking all things into consideration, therefore, the plea of

South Carolina for the justification of her conduct is most puerile. How much better and more manly, as well as more constitutional, it would have been had she waited until the new President had had an opportunity of giving to the world a declaration of his principles and intentions. Any unconstitutional announcement, or overt act, aimed at the stability of Southern rights, would have justified South Carolina and the remainder of the slave States in withdrawing from the Confederation. She would then have received the sympathy of all impartial men on both sides of the Atlantic; for, however the institution of slavery may be denounced in England, there are few people amongst us who would give their sanction to forced and immediate emancipation. As it is, the proceedings of the Palmetto State are looked upon by many as something bordering upon the farcical. Her declarations and ordinances are read sometimes in an ironical, and sometimes in a serio-comic tone. Some people pity her; others look upon her with contempt. The majority say—let her alone, and experience will show her the folly of her doings; the muscular minority suggest that she get a sound thrashing. All are disgusted.

After the passage of the Ordinance of Secession, the Convention appointed Commissioners to bear a copy of it to each of the slave-holding States, and to invite each or any of them to join South Carolina in the formation of a Southern Confederacy—taking as the basis of Government the existing Constitution of the United States. Commissioners were also appointed by the "Committee on *Foreign* Relations"(!) to

proceed to Washington with a copy of the Ordinance of Secession:—

"To be laid before the President of the United States, with the request that the same shall be communicated to the Congress now in Session."

And also:—

"To treat for the delivery of the forts, magazines, and lighthouses, and other real estate and appurtenances thereto, within the geographical limits of South Carolina; and also for an apportionment of the public debt, and for a division of all other property held by the Government of the United States as agent of the confederated States of which South Carolina was recently a member, and generally to negotiate as to all other measures and arrangements proper to be made and adopted in the existing relation of the parties, and for the continuance of peace and amity between this Commonwealth and the Government of Washington."

The Commissioners appointed were R. W. Barnwell, J. H. Adams, and James L. Orr. Their first communication to the President is dated December 29th, 1860. In it, after announcing that South Carolina had "resumed the powers she delegated to the United States, and had declared her perfect sovereignty and independence," they go on to state that they were prepared to enter upon negotiations for the settlement of all questions raised by the new state of things, with the earnest desire to avoid hostilities, and to inaugurate the new relations so as to secure mutual respect, general advantage, and a future of goodwill and harmony. They then complain of the conduct of Major Anderson, who had been very wisely strengthening his position in the Charleston forts, and close by refusing to enter into any discussions until the said conduct be explained, and the troops withdrawn from the forts.

The President, in his reply, referred them to his Message delivered on the 3rd of December, in which he declared that the

Executive has no authority to acknowledge the independence of any State; he consequently could not meet the South Carolinian Commissioners as deputies from a seceding State, but was willing to communicate anything they might have to say to Congress, in the capacity of "private gentlemen of the highest character." He acknowledged that Major Anderson had somewhat exceeded his orders, which were to make no movement at all save when attacked, and stated that when he learned that the Major had removed from Fort Moultrie to Fort Sumpter, his first impulse was to order him to retrace his steps, and await further orders. "But," continues the President—

"before any step could possibly have been taken in this direction, we received information that the 'Palmetto flag floated out to the breeze at Castle Pinckney, and a large military force went over last night (the 27th) to Fort Moultrie.' Thus the authorities of South Carolina, without waiting or asking for any explanations, and doubtless believing, as you have expressed it, that the officer had acted not only without, but against my orders, on the very next day after the night when the removal was made, seized by a military force two of the Federal forts in the harbour of Charleston, and have covered them under their own flag instead of that of the United States.

"At this gloomy period of our history, startling events succeed each other rapidly. On the very day, the 27th inst., that possession of these two forts was taken, the Palmetto flag was raised over the Federal custom-house and post-office in Charleston; and on the same day every officer of the customs—collector, naval officer, surveyor, and appraiser—resigned their offices. And this, although it was well known from the language of my Message that, as an executive officer, I felt myself bound to collect the revenue at the port of Charleston, under the existing laws. In the harbour of Charleston we now find three forts confronting each other, over all of which the Federal flag floated only four days ago; but now, over two of them, this flag has been supplanted, and the Palmetto flag has been substituted in its stead. It is under all these circumstances that I am urged immediately to withdraw the troops from the harbour of Charleston, and am informed that, without this, negotiation is impossible. This I cannot do—this I will not do. Such an idea was never thought of by me in any possible contingency. No such allusion has been made in any communication between myself and any human being. But the inference is that I am bound to withdraw the troops from the only fort remaining in the possession of the United States in the

harbour of Charleston because the officer there in command of all of the forts thought proper, without instructions, to change his position from one of them to another.'

"At this point of writing I have received information by telegraph from Captain Humphreys, in command of the arsenal at Charleston, that 'it has to-day (Sunday, the 30th) been taken by force of arms.' It is estimated that the munitions of war belonging to this arsenal are worth half a million of dollars.

"Comment is needless. After this information, I have only to add that, while it is my duty to defend Fort Sumpter as a portion of the public property of the United States against hostile attacks, from whatever quarter they may come, by such means as I possess for this purpose, I do not perceive how such a defence can be construed into a menace against the city of Charleston."

The rejoinder of the Commissioners was characteristic. They stated that they had no special solicitude as to the character in which they might be recognized, satisfied as they were of the unquestionable right of their State to act as it had done. They accused the President of misquoting their letter; expressed their astonishment that he would not listen to their demands; and declared themselves ready for war if he chose to force that issue upon them.

The Washington correspondent of the *New York Herald* (pro-slavery Democratic organ) wrote on the 2nd of January as follows:—

"The Cabinet had rather a protracted session to-day. The reply of the South Carolina Commissioners to the President's letter was received at a late hour. The document is unbecoming ambassadors from the great State of South Carolina. It is replete with abuse of the President, and contains not a single point in regard to the issues involved between the State of South Carolina and the Executive. The President intends to treat it with contempt, and will exclude it from the correspondence which he intends to send to the Senate. Their cause must be a bad one when they resort to abuse of the Executive. The President's letter to them was courteous and dignified. Their reply is insolent and undignified."

The document was returned on the 3rd of January, with the following endorsement thereon:—

"Executive Mansion, Wednesday, 3.30.

"This paper, just presented to the President, is of such a character that he declines to receive it."

The "three private gentlemen of the highest character" left soon after for Charleston.

The House of Representatives showed their approbation of the conduct of Major Anderson, by the passage of the following resolution—Yeas 124, Nays 56:—

"Resolved,—That we fully approve the bold and patriotic act of Major Anderson in withdrawing from Fort Moultrie to Fort Sumpter, and the determination of the President to maintain that fearless officer in his present condition, and we will support the President in all constitutional measures to enforce the laws and preserve the Union."

Among those who voted "Yea" were several Southern members.

A few days after the departure of the Commissioners, the President ordered reinforcements to be sent to Major Anderson. The precipitate action of South Carolina demanded that something should be done. The first fruits of the new movement was the resignation of Mr. Thompson, Secretary of the Interior. On the 9th of January the "Star of the West" arrived off Charleston with men and provisions for Fort Sumpter; but was prevented from accomplishing its mission by the State authorities, who opened fire upon her from the forts on Morris Island, and compelled her to put back to sea.

Many people think that Major Anderson would have been perfectly justified in retaliating, which he could easily have done from his commanding position. A few shots from Fort Sumpter would have settled matters. But he scorned to imitate

the barbarity of South Carolina, and contented himself by remonstrating with the governor. The following is a copy of his letter to Governor Pickens:—

"TO HIS EXCELLENCY THE GOVERNOR OF SOUTH CAROLINA.

"Sir,—Two of your batteries fired this morning on an unarmed vessel bearing the flag of my Government. As I have not been notified that war has been declared by South Carolina against the United States, I cannot but think this a hostile act, committed without your sanction or authority. Under that hope I refrain from opening fire on your batteries. I have the honour, therefore, respectfully to ask whether the above-mentioned act—one which I believe without parallel in the history of our country or any other civilized government—was committed in obedience to your instructions, and notify you, if it is not disclaimed, that I regard it as an act of war, and I shall not, after reasonable time for the return of my messenger, permit any vessel to pass within the range of the guns of my fort.

"In order to save, as far as it is in my power, the shedding of blood, I beg you will take due notification of my decision for the good of all concerned. Hoping, however, your answer may justify a further continuance of forbearance on my part, I remain, respectfully,

"ROBERT ANDERSON."

The governor replied by justifying the conduct of the garrison on Morris Island, and by declaring that any attempt made to reinforce the forts by United States troops would be considered an act of hostility, and would be met accordingly. Major Anderson rejoined that, under the circumstances, he would refer the matter to his Government, and await instructions. With this object in view, Lieutenant Hall left Sumpter for Washington on the 12th of January; Colonel Hayne, on the part of Governor Pickens, left Charleston on the same day. They arrived at the capital on the 14th, and on the 15th held interviews with the President.

Their mission, however, did not change the face of affairs; Colonel Hayne was told distinctly that the Government would

not give up Fort Sumpter, and instructions were forwarded to Major Anderson to defend his position in every emergency. Colonel Hayne saw very clearly that it was useless for him to carry out the extreme instructions of Governor Pickens. Instead, therefore, of demanding the unconditional surrender of Fort Sumpter, he simply suggested that such a surrender would be most advisable on the part of the United States Government, as it would lessen the chances of a collision between the Federal and State troops, and throw the responsibility of shedding blood upon the incoming administration. But President Buchanan, with a firmness which exhibited a strong contrast to the sentiments of his (?) Message of the 3rd of December, showed his determination to be neither bullied nor coaxed into treason.

On the 28th January, however, the South Carolina Legislature confirmed its instructions to Col. Hayne, and ordered him to make a final demand for the forts, telling him to wait a reasonable time for an answer, and then, to inform the President that Fort Sumpter, if not peacefully surrendered, must be taken. This ultimatum was delivered to the President on the 2nd Feb., but Mr. Buchanan refused to change his former decision, and the Commissioner returned to Charleston on the 8th Feb. 1861. In the mean time the delegates of the seceded States had formed themselves into a "Southern Confederacy" at Montgomery, Alabama; and the negotiations respecting Fort Sumpter were thereby taken out of the hands of South Carolina.

SECTION 2. *Revolutionary Movements of other States.*

Man is always more prone to imitate a bad example than a good one—it is more natural and less troublesome to fallen humanity—hence the eagerness with which the lead of South Carolina was followed by several other slave States. The most popular opinion amongst the slave-holders prior to the action of the Palmetto State was, that their grievances could be better redressed by combined than separate action. The current idea was to call a Convention of all the Southern States to decide upon a common course of conduct; but the rashness of South Carolina forced the rest of the States to hurry out of the Union, each independently of the rest.

The secession ordinances of *Mississippi*, *Alabama*, and *Florida* were signed on the 11th January. For some days previously the Federal officers, one after another, had been sending in their resignation to Government; whilst the States' troops had employed themselves in taking possession of the national forts and other property of the United States.

Georgia took the final step on the 19th January, the ordinance of secession passing by a vote of 208 against 89; but the minority signed the document a few days afterwards; for though they differed with the 208 members as to the mode in which redress was to be sought, they declared their determination to stand by Georgia in asserting its rights.

A motion to postpone the operation of the ordinance until the 3rd March was lost by about thirty majority. The following is a copy of the ordinance of secession:—

"An ordinance to dissolve the Union between the State of Georgia and other States united with her under the compact of Government entitled the Constitution of the United States.

"We, the people of the State of Georgia in Convention assembled, do declare and ordain, and it is hereby declared and ordained, that the ordinances adopted by the people of the State of Georgia in Convention in 1788, whereby the Constitution of the United States was assented to, ratified and adopted, and also all Acts and parts of Acts of the General Assembly, ratifying and adopting amendments to the said Constitution, are hereby repealed, rescinded, and abrogated.

"And we do further declare and ordain that the Union now subsisting between the State of Georgia and other States, under the name of the United States, is hereby dissolved, and that the State of Georgia is in full possession and exercise of all those rights of sovereignty which belong and appertain to a free and independent State."

The *Louisiana* Convention met on the 23rd January. The members passed a resolution thanking the governor for taking possession of the forts and arsenal at Baton Rouge on the 11th inst.

On the 26th the President declared Louisiana a free and sovereign republic. The following ordinance of secession being passed by a vote of 113 to 17 :—

"Whereas it is manifest that Abraham Lincoln, if inaugurated as President of the United States, will keep the promises he has made to the Abolitionists of the North; that those promises, if kept, will inevitably lead to the emancipation and misfortune of the slaves of the South, their equality with a superior race, and before long to the irreparable ruin of this mighty Republic, the degradation of the American name, and corruption of the American blood;

"Fully convinced, as we are, that the slavery engrafted on this land by France, Spain, England, and the States of North America is the most humane of all existing servitudes; that to the slave of the South it is far preferable to the condition of the barbarians of Africa or the freedom of those who have been liberated by the powers of Europe; that it is in obedience to the laws of God, recognized by the Constitution of our country, sanctioned by the decrees of its tribunals; that it feeds and clothes its enemies and the world, leaves to the black labourer a more considerable sum of comfort, happiness, and liberty than the inexorable labour required from the free servants of the whole universe; and that each emancipation of an African, without being of any benefit to him, would necessarily condemn to slavery one of our blood and our race;

"Confident that we have strictly, faithfully, and ever discharged all the duties and obligations imposed upon us by the Constitution of our country; that, on the contrary, the members of the Republican party have already trampled under their feet, and have announced their determination to disregard Constitution, laws, obligations, and the judgments of the courts of the Republic; and that they will soon have the power, as they always had the will, to destroy our individual and national existence; therefore be it

"Resolved, by the Convention,—That our honour, our legitimate pride, the interests of our slaves and of mankind, command that we should declare that Louisiana owes allegiance only to her laws and to her God, and that she is compelled by the injustice and bad faith of her sisters of the North to abandon a Union which she has loved, still loves, and deeply regrets."

The Convention of *Texas* adopted a secession ordinance on the 1st Feb. by a vote of 166 against 7. On the 23rd Feb. the action of the Convention was submitted to the people for ratification, and the ordinance was endorsed by the popular vote.

Section 3. *The Border Slave States.*

The action of the frontier slave States has been all along on the side of moderation. Statistics prove that their citizens are more intelligent than those of the States farther South, and history shows that they have always been moderate and conservative in their politics—despising the fast notions and mobocracy of the North on the one hand, and the fire-eating and filibustering doctrines of the South on the other.

In case of secession the sympathies of the border States would be divided, the farming and manufacturing interests being inclined to the North, and the planting and slave-holding interests to the South. A large section of the people do not believe that there is any legitimate cause for the present disturbance. The following extract from the address of Governor Hicks of Mary-

land to the people of his State, giving his reasons for refusing to take part in the secession movement, may be taken as the opinion of the majority of the citizens of the border slave States:—

"I firmly believe that a division of this Government would inevitably produce civil war. The secession leaders in South Carolina and the fanatical demagogues of the North have alike proclaimed that such would be the result, and no man of sense, in my opinion, can question it. What could the Legislature do in this crisis, if convened to remove the present troubles which beset the Union? We are told by the leading spirits of the South Carolina Convention that neither the election of Mr. Lincoln, nor the non-execution of the Fugitive Slave Law, nor both combined, constitute their grievances. They declare that the real cause of their discontent dates as far back as 1833. Maryland and every other State in the Union, with a mild voice, then declared the cause insufficient to justify the course of South Carolina. Can it be that this people, who then unanimously supported the cause of General Jackson, will now yield their opinions at the bidding of modern secessionists? I have been told that the position of Maryland should be defined, so that both sections can understand it. Do any really misunderstand her position? Who that wishes to understand it can fail to do so? If the action of the Legislature would be simply to declare that Maryland is with the South in sympathy and feeling; that she demands from the North the repeal of offensive, unconstitutional statutes, and appeals to it for new guarantees that she will wait a reasonable time for the North to purge her statute books so as to do justice to her Southern brethren, and if her appeals are vain, will make common cause with her sister border States in resistance to tyranny if need be, it would only be saying what the whole country well knows, and what may be said much more effectually by her people themselves in their meetings than by the Legislature, chosen eighteen months since, when none of these questions were raised before them. That Maryland is a conservative Southern State all know who know anything of her people or her history. *The business and agricultural classes, planters, merchants, mechanics, and labouring men, those who have a real stake in the community, who would be forced to pay the taxes and do the fighting, are the persons who should be heard in preference to excited politicians, many of whom, having nothing to lose from the destruction of the Government, may hope to derive some gain from the ruin of the State.* Such men will naturally urge you to pull down the pillars of this 'accursed Union,' which their allies at the North have denominated a 'covenant with hell.' The people of Maryland, if left to themselves, would decide, with scarcely an exception, that there is nothing in the present causes of complaint to justify immediate secession; and yet, against our judgments and solemn convictions of duty, we are to be precipitated into this revolution because South Carolina thinks differently. Are we not equals? Or shall her opinions control our actions?

After we have solemnly declared for ourselves, as every man must do, are we to be forced to yield our opinions to those of another State, and thus in effect obey her mandates? She refuses to wait for our counsels. Are we bound to obey her commands? The men who have embarked in this scheme to convene the Legislature will spare no pains to carry their point. The whole plan of operations, in the event of the assembling of the Legislature, is, as I have been informed, already marked out, the list of ambassadors who are to visit the other States is agreed on, and the resolutions which they hope will be passed by the Legislature, fully committing this State to secession, are said to be already prepared. In the course of nature I cannot have long to live, and I fervently trust to be allowed to end my days a citizen of this glorious Union. But should I be compelled to witness the downfall of that Government inherited from our fathers, established as it were by the special favour of God, I will at least have the consolation at my dying hour that I neither, by word or deed, assisted in hastening its disruption."

The general opinion is that, should a Southern Confederacy be formed, Virginia & Co. would cast their lot with the new nation. But great endeavours will be made to preserve the Union, as with dissolution there might come a revival of the external slave trade, by which the frontier States would be deprived of a remunerative market for their surplus negro population. The existence of a foreign country on their northern frontier would endanger the safety of their property; whilst the free-trade predilections of the cotton States would not agree with the notions and interests of Missouri, Kentucky, Virginia, and Maryland manufacturers.

All this accounts for the strenuous exertions of the Northern slave States to get back the seceders into the Union.

Section 4. *Proceedings of the Southern Congress.*

The Convention of the seceded States met at Montgomery, Alabama, on the 4th February, 1861. The Hon. R. M. Barnwell of South Carolina was appointed temporary chairman, and

A. R. Lamer, Esq., of Georgia, temporary secretary. The proceedings were opened with prayer by the Rev. Dr. B. Manly. Forty-two delegates were present, viz., ten from Georgia, nine from Alabama, eight from South Carolina, six each from Louisiana and Mississippi, and three from Florida. Each signed his name to the roll of Convention, and the chairman then declared the meeting ready for business.

The Hon. Howell Cobb of Georgia was appointed President, and J. J. Hooper secretary.

On the 5th congressional printers were appointed; a resolution was passed inviting the clergy of the city to open the Convention with prayer; and a committee of thirteen, composed of two members from each State elected by their fellow delegates, and a chairman chosen by the Convention, was appointed to report a plan for a Provisional Government.

On the 6th, a communication was received from North Carolina to the effect that, having agreed to meet the Virginian Commissioners at Washington, on the 4th February, "for the purpose of effecting an honourable adjustment of all the difficulties that distracted the country, upon the basis of the Crittenden resolutions, as modified by the Legislature of Virginia," she could not, and, "as part of the Federal Union, had no right to send delegates" to the proposed Montgomery Convention, fixed for the 14th February.

On the 7th, the Alabama Legislature placed the sum of $500,000 (£104,000), by way of loan, at the disposal of the Southern Congress, "for placing the seceding States in a better condition of defence against any attack that may be

made upon them by the Federal Government of the United States."

On the 8th, the Congress was in secret session. On the 9th, the Hon. Jefferson Davis of Mississippi was elected President, and the Hon. Alexander H. Stephens of Georgia, Vice-President of the Southern Confederacy.

On the morning of the 9th, the "Constitution of the Provisional Government of the Confederated States of America" was made public. It generally follows the Constitution of the United States; but there are some exceptions. The following is the *Preamble*:—

"We, the deputies of the sovereign independent States of South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana, invoking the favour of the Almighty thereby in behalf of the States, ordain and establish this Constitution for a Provisional Government of the same, to continue one year from the inauguration of President, or until a permanent Constitution or Confederation be put into operation."

The seventh section prohibits the external slave trade:—

"ARTICLE FIRST.—The importation of African negroes from any foreign country, other than the slave-holding States of the United States, is hereby forbidden, and Congress is required to pass such laws as shall effectually prevent the same.

"ARTICLE SECOND.—Congress shall also have power to prohibit the introduction of slaves from any State not a member of this Confederacy."

The object of these clauses is twofold—first, to blind the world as to the real intentions of the Southern Confederacy; and, second, to give a sop to the border slave States, whose only inducement to retain the institution of slavery is the profit derived from supplying the Southern labour demand, and which a revival of the external slave trade would destroy. So Virginia and Company are first coaxed, by being assured that they shall

have the exclusive privilege of negro-breeding if they join the cotton States, and then threatened, by being told that, if they do not join the Southern Confederacy, it will be in the power of Congress to exclude the importation of slaves from States not forming a part of the new Union.

It is possible that the Convention may have been sincere in its interdict of the African slave trade; but there is nothing in the past history of Southern tactics which warrants us in placing faith in anything the slave-holders may say. A revival of the execrable traffic has been advocated for many years past, especially by the fanatics of South Carolina, and the mean whites of the whole country who are anxious to become "nigger" owners, and so raise their status in society, but to whom 1000 to 1500 dollars is an insurmountable obstacle.

"Free trade" with Africa has long been advocated as the only panacea of Southern retrogression; and seeing that the avowed object of the cotton States in seceding from the Union is to form a Republic whose labour is to be performed by slaves of the African race, we have no hesitation in declaring the promised abstinence from fresh importations to be unmitigated hypocrisy, and most transparent deceit. The *New York Herald* of the 13th Feb. 1861, in an article on the "*Future of the two Confederacies*" remarked:—

"*If the Southern Confederacy only adopt some humane system it may draw labour to any extent from Africa*, which cannot be done under the laws of the old Confederacy. On the other hand, unless by the annexation of Canada and the other British provinces, if they should decide to throw off the yoke of England, and join their fortunes with the Northern United States of America, the North can only increase her resources and her population by the importation of free labour on the wages principle, whereas the South can draw upon Africa unpaid labour

almost without limit, and thus, while increasing her population, develop all her latent resources to the utmost."

We could add numerous clippings from Southern newspapers, *demanding* that "Africa and America be allowed to reciprocate blessings," but the reader will be well aware of the longings of slave-holders in this direction.

The "Constitution" then provides for the rendition of fugitive slaves, or their equivalent in money.

One article orders that immediate steps be taken for the settlement of all matters between the new Confederacy and the original Union, relating to the public property, debt, &c.

Another clause gives the Congress power to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, &c., for the purpose of raising a revenue necessary to carry on the Government. The import duties to be uniform in all the States; and, it was understood, the same on Northern produce as on imports from Europe, &c.

The fact that the Congress had avowed its intention of prohibiting negro imports, and hinted at indirect taxation as a means of raising a revenue, produced considerable dissatisfaction in South Carolina, whose object in seceding was entire free trade with all countries, Africa included, and there is some talk of her adhering to her original intention of "going it alone." Besides this, the taking out of her hands the Fort Sumpter settlement, and the exclusion of her citizens from all the high offices of state in the new Union, had wounded her pride not a little. The fact is that she took the lead in the revolution with the idea of retaining it, and making Charleston the New York of the South. The remaining States, however, have out-

witted her. They went to work quietly and business like, and in the choice of their national leaders shunned the blustering and blundering orators of the Palmetto State. Henceforth then South Carolina, as the *New York Herald* says, is a cipher :—

"The new Southern Confederacy has already used her up. She has lost her independence. It has been swallowed up in the superior power and authority of the United States South. She cannot now make war or peace, or send ambassadors, or attack forts. She must do as she is ordered, or be squelched; and this time she cannot get out of the Union. She is surrounded on every side, and Fort Moultrie, or Fort Pinckney, or the batteries on Morris Island, or even Fort Sumpter, if she had it, will avail her little against a land attack from the Confederate army, should she attempt to nullify the laws of the Union or proclaim her independence.

"The statesmanlike manner in which the Southern Confederacy at Montgomery have formed the new Government presents a striking contrast to the mad proceedings of the Palmetto State. It commands the respect of the whole country North and South, and will command the respect of Europe, and the independence of the Confederacy will be acknowledged by all, while South Carolina and her gasconade will be heard of no more. The glimmer of her little flickering candle will be lost in the effulgence of the sunlight of the Southern Union. We pity her sorrows. What will become of her now? In avoiding imaginary evils, she has fallen upon evils she knew not of. It is out of the frying-pan into the fire. She can no longer strut about with a little petty brief authority, and she must be exceedingly civil to the new Federal power. If she should again kick up her heels, and send a commissioner to Jefferson Davis to arrange about the forts, the Southern President would arrest him for treason as quick as lightning, and have him hanged, instead of parleying with him like poor Buchanan. For Jefferson Davis is a man of pluck and a man of power, a man of talent and a statesman." *

On the 11th Feb. Mr. Stephens acknowledged his acceptance of the Vice-Presidency, but declined making any statement as to the position of affairs, or the conduct which should rule the Government, until the arrival of the President. Meanwhile, however, he suggested that the Congress might very profitably turn its attention "to such as providing necessary postal arrangements, making provision for the transfer of the custom-

* *New York Herald*, Feb. 13, article headed "South Carolina's nose out of joint."

house from the jurisdiction of the separate States to the Confederacy, and the imposition of such duties as are necessary to meet the present expected exigencies." A duty of ten per cent. ad valorem would, he thought, be amply sufficient to meet all their present requirements.

Next day the following Committees were announced as completed:—1. Executive Government Department; 2. Foreign Affairs; 3. Finance; 4. Commerce; 5. Judiciary; 6. Navy; 7. Army; 8. Post-Office; 9. Patents; 10. Territories; 11. Public Lands; 12. Indian Affairs; 13. Printing; 14. Accounts; 15. Engrossments. Thus in one week after the first day of meeting the whole machinery of a complete Government was at work.

On the 12th, the following resolutions were passed:—

"That the Committee on *Foreign* (!) *Affairs* be requested to inquire into the propriety and necessity, so soon as the President is inaugurated, of a commission to the Government of the United States of America; and

"That this Government take under its charge the questions and difficulties now existing between the sovereign States of this Confederacy and the Government of the United States, relating to the occupation of the forts, arsenals, navy yards, and other public establishments; and the President of this Congress is directed to communicate this resolution to the governors of the States."

The business transacted down to the 18th Feb. was comparatively unimportant; but on that day President Davis arrived at Montgomery, and delivered his inaugural address.

He opened by defending the secessionists on the grounds that the Northern half of the old Confederacy had violated the original compact by depriving the South of the rights to which it was entitled, and that the Government having therefore ceased to accomplish the ends for which it was designed should be

abolished. *He hoped that the beginning of their career as a separate Confederacy would not be obstructed by hostile opposition; but if such should be the case, they must be prepared to meet the emergency, and maintain by the final arbitrament of the sword the position which they had assumed amongst the nations of the earth.* They did not desire war. As an agricultural people, whose chief interest was the export of a commodity required in every manufacturing country, their true policy was peace, and not only peace, but the freest trade with all countries which their necessities would permit. They had no manufactures to protect nor navigation to succour, consequently there could be but little rivalry between them and any manufacturing and navigating community, such as the North-eastern States of the American Union; and it would follow therefore, mutual interest would invite goodwill and kind offices. The South had vainly endeavoured to obtain its lawful rights while associated with the late Union, and she had therefore concluded to seek a separate existence, not as a choice, but as a necessity; and henceforth her energies must be directed to the conduct of her own affairs, and the perpetuity of the new Confederacy. He therefore advised the immediate organization of the Executive departments having the charge of foreign intercourse, finance, military affairs, and postal service; that for the defence of the Confederated States there be, in addition to the States' militia, *formed a well-instructed, disciplined national army, more numerous than would usually be required on a peace establishment;* and that for the protection of their harbours and commerce a navy should be obtained.

But notwithstanding his strong advocacy of a separate

existence for slave States, and his expressed determination to defend such a position at all hazards, Mr. Davis still hankered after his first love, and thought it not improbable that the North might seek to again unite its fortunes with the South under the new régime. In case that such a desire might be expressed, he made adequate provision for its acceptance; but still such an union was neither practicable nor desirable, unless it could be formed upon the terms of the slave Confederacy.

The Congress now commenced its work in right earnestness, and in the most businesslike fashion. A tariff, similar in scale to that of the United States Bill of 1857, was adopted. Military preparations on a large scale were commenced; and arrangements were made for commencing immediate action on the 4th March, should the new administration of the old Union refuse to acknowledge the independence of the "Confederated States." Permission was also given to the President to borrow the sum of $15,000,000, to be repaid in ten years—principle and interest at the rate of eight per cent. to be liquidated out of a fund to be raised by a levy of ⅛ cent per lb. on cotton exported after the 1st August, 1861.

The proceedings of the Congress up to the hour of going to press will be found in a supplementary chapter at the close of the present volume. We may state here, however, that the *permanent* Constitution (which differs slightly from the *provisional* one noticed above) of the Southern Confederacy was finally agreed upon on the 11th March; and that a revised tariff has since been adopted. Copies of both documents will be found in the Appendix.

CHAPTER IV.

Remedial Measures.

We have already shown in the First Part of the present work what an important share of the time of the American Legislature has been consumed in discussions on the vexed question of slavery extension, and how often the peace of the nation has been imperilled thereby. Repeated attempts have been made to banish the subject for ever from the national Congress, as the only means of preserving the Union. The great fear of the founders of the Confederacy was the division of the Republic into two hostile geographical sections—one free and the other slave. Such a state of things they well knew would not long be compatible with union. Two systems so inherently antagonistic cannot be peaceably ruled by one and the same executive. Either the one or the other must succumb.

Hence the constant struggle which has been going on between North and South during the last three quarters of a century. The South all along has been fully aware that the safety of its peculiar institution could only be secured by a pro-slavery Government at Washington; consequently all their exertions have been used in securing Federal power; and with the assist-

ance, first, of Northern Protectionists and, next, of Northern Democrats, they have, until within the last year, succeeded, wonderfully, in accomplishing their object.

But now it is plain that the administration of the Government is for ever gone out of the hands of the slave-holders, and they, fearing that with the loss of power will follow the doom of slavery, have concluded that their interests can only be secured by retiring from the Confederation, and establishing an independent Government.

The moderate party in the South, however, think that such an alternative is not necessary for the protection of their rights; they believe, indeed, that the Union is their only safeguard, provided that the Constitution can be so amended as to exclude the subject of domestic slavery from the jurisdiction of Congress, and for the future to render the mere mention of the institution unnecessary. No arrangement, unless it accomplish this object, will give peace to the country; and if no such an adjustment can be come to, the sooner the rival interests separate the better.

By this test we will now consider the various projects of conciliation which have been offered to the country.

Section 1. *President Buchanan's Amendment.*

First of all come the amendments which formed part of the Message of President Buchanan, delivered to Congress on the 3rd of December, 1860, as follows:—

"1. An express recognition of the right of property in slaves in the States where it now exists or *may hereafter exist.*

"2. The duty of *protecting* this right in all the common territories throughout their territorial existence, and until they shall be admitted as States into the Union, with or without slavery, as their Constitutions may prescribe.

"3. A like recognition of the right of the master to have his slave, who has escaped from one State to another, restored and 'delivered up' to him, and of the validity of the Fugitive Slave Law enacted for this purpose, together with a declaration that all State laws impairing or defeating this right are violations of the Constitution, and are consequently null and void."

Neither the first nor the second of these propositions are calculated to bring about the desired object. The mere recognition of the right of property in slaves in the territories *now* existing would not be incompatible with a peaceful Union, but to carry a similar recognition to territories *which may hereafter exist* would introduce the subject into Congress on the first annexation of a new district to the national domains, and the sectional fight would be renewed in all its vigour, with the evil consequences which have always attended its revival. The object of the Missouri Compromise of 1820 was to carry the discussion of slavery out of the national council, but everyone knows with what result. Fresh territories brought new troubles.

Neither would the second suggestion secure the desired aim. The idea of *protecting* the right of a particular interest implies a constant and ever-present superintendence, and consequently the liability of having the matter brought before the Government almost daily, and thus keeping the rival parties in a state of unintermitting fermentation, much to the detriment of peaceful association and a proper attention to the vital interests of the general community. The policy of Government with respect to slavery in the territories should be non-intervention.

As to the third recommendation, however we may disagree

with the idea of one man having the right of property in the person of his fellow-man, still the fact that that right is recognized by the "Constitution" as existing in one part of the Union, demands that the other part should not be allowed to interfere with that right. The slave-owners alone are responsible for the sin, and they alone have the legal right to discontinue the evil. The recognition of such a right having been allowed by Congress, need not again be introduced into either House of the Federal Legislature; for should any of the free States refuse to acknowledge the validity of a fugitive slave law, the Supreme Court would be able to settle the dispute by a civil process.

The President's suggestions, as we have already stated, were referred to two special committees—one of the Senate and one of the House of Representatives. Neither committee, however, could agree to any plan of adjustment. The former disagreed so cordially that they broke up without suggesting anything; whilst the latter produced one Majority Report, and some four or five Minority Reports.

SECTION 2. *The Crittenden Resolutions.*

But though the committee of the Upper House produced no *official* fruit, one of the members of it—Mr. Crittenden of Kentucky—on the 18th of December, introduced to that august body the propositions since so well known as the "Crittenden Resolutions:" in effect they were as follows:—

1. In all territory now held, *or hereafter acquired*, 36° 30″

north latitude, slavery to be prohibited; south of that line, slavery to be recognized by Congress, and *protected* by the Territorial Government during its continuance. States parcelled out of such territory to be admitted with or without slavery as the people shall provide.

2. Congress shall have no power to abolish slavery in places under its exclusive jurisdiction, and situate within the limits of States that permit the holding of slaves.
3. Congress shall not have power to abolish slavery within the district of Columbia, so long as it exists in the adjoining States of Virginia and Maryland, nor without the consent of the inhabitants, nor without just compensation be first made to such owners as do not consent to such abolishment. Officers of Government, and members of Congress, to have the privilege, should they require it, of being accompanied with their slaves to and from said district.
4. Congress to have no power to interfere with the internal slave trade.
5. (I.) Owners of fugitive slaves to be paid for the same, when their arrest is obstructed by violence or intimidation, or when after arrest they are rescued by force. The payment to be made by the United States, and afterwards recovered from the parties offending.

   (II.) Congress to declare the laws now in force for the recovery of fugitives to be strictly constitutional: not to be modified or repealed, but to be faithfully observed; and that laws ought to be passed for the punishment of those who hinder or defeat the due execution of said laws.

(III.) That all State laws which conflict with the Fugitive Slave Acts, or any other constitutional Acts of Congress, are null and void by the plain provisions of the Constitution of the United States. But that the existence of such laws having obstructed the Acts of Congress, and led to the discord and commotion now prevailing, that Congress earnestly recommend the repeal of those laws to the several States which have enacted them.

(IV.) That the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850 be so amended as to make the fee of the commissioner uniform, whether he allows or rejects the claims of a slave-owner.

(V.) That the laws for the suppression of the African slave trade be strictly observed, and, if necessary, made more effectual.

6. No future amendment of the Constitution shall affect the above articles; nor give authority to Congress to interfere with slavery in any of the States where it is, or may be, permitted to exist.

The new feature in this measure is the proposition to carry the Missouri compromise line through to the Pacific. To do this would be neither unjust nor unconstitutional as the law now stands, so far as the *present* States and territories are concerned. The slave States have a right, according to the national compacts, to share in the territorial possessions of the Union. They paid their quota of men and money in obtaining those territories, and ought therefore not to be excluded from all participation in the benefits arising from their possession. Supposing the districts south of the proposed line to choose

slave institutions, the balance of power would still be in favour of the North, for whilst the slave States would only gain a territory of about 280,000 square miles, the free States would receive about 900,000 square miles.

The objectionable phase is that which permits the introduction of slavery into territories *which may be hereafter acquired.* Such a proviso the South has no right to claim, and the North cannot allow without eating the humblest of humble pie, and sacrificing the rights of humanity. Slavery, according to the teachings of history, is an abnormal condition of society, and though it may be for a time tolerated in any country, because of the grave obstacles which present themselves to abolition, it ought not to be introduced into any country at present free from its blighting influence. No! the shameful proceedings enacted in the case of Texas must not, shall not, be repeated in a second field.

It is easy to divine the anxiety of slave-holders to add to their possessions. It is only by diffusion that their domestic institution can be rendered safe and profitable. Lieutenant Maury, in an article on Southern Direct Trade published in De Bow's "Industrial Resources of the South," thus remarks on the future of slavery :—

"The fact must be obvious to the far-reaching minds of our statesmen, that unless some means of relief be devised, some channel afforded, by which the South can, when the time comes, get rid of the excess of her slave population, she will be ultimately found, with regard to this institution, in the predicament of a man with a wolf by the ears; too dangerous to hold on any longer, and equally dangerous to let go. To our mind, the event is as certain to happen as any event which depends on the contingencies of the future, viz., that unless means be devised for gradually relieving the slave States from the undue pressure of this class upon them, unless some way be opened by which they may be rid of their

surplus black population, the time will come—it may not be in the next nor in the succeeding generation, but, sooner or later, come it will, and come it must—when the two races will join in the death-struggle for the mastery."

In addition to the danger to be apprehended from the rapid increase and concentration of the population of the servile race, restriction would speedily demonstrate the unprofitableness of the institution. It is only by periodical migrations from old lands to new that slavery can be made to pay. Condemn a planter and his negroes to a perpetual existence on one plantation, and free labour would soon beat them out of the market, and so seal the doom of slavery. Mr. Olmsted, in his "Journey in the Back Country," bears testimony to the desolating influence of slavery, and attributes the profitableness of the institution to the facility with which the planter can replace his used-up fields with virgin soil :—

"The present facility of acquiring land in the cotton States, the capital needed for its purchase not exceeding, for fresh soil, on an average, three dollars an acre, and the large outlay of capital needed to obtain labour, necessarily induces that mode of agriculture which has desolated so large a portion of the seaboard slave States. Twenty slave labourers will cost over twenty thousand dollars. They will cultivate four hundred acres of land, which costs less than a tenth of that sum. Knowing that he can buy as much more as he wants, at an equally low rate, why, when the production of his land decreases, should the slave-owner drain it, or manure it, or 'rest' it, or vary his crops to prevent further exhaustion? It will cost twenty dollars' worth of labour to manure an acre. Why make this expenditure, when he can obtain other land at five dollars an acre (fenced and ready for the plough), which, without manure, will return just as much cotton for the same amount of labour (in cultivation merely) as this with it?"*

The Hon. C. C. Clay of Alabama thus describes the pernicious influence of slavery in his native county of Madison :—

"In traversing that county, one will discover numerous farmhouses, once the

* *A Journey in the Back Country*, 1860. Page 374.

abode of industrious and intelligent freemen, now occupied by slaves, or tenantless, deserted and dilapidated; he will observe fields, once fertile, now unfenced, abandoned, and covered with those evil harbingers—foxtail and bromsedge." . . . "Indeed, a country in its infancy, where, fifty years ago, scarce a forest tree had been felled by the axe of the pioneer, is already exhibiting the painful signs of senility and decay, apparent in Virginia and the Carolinas."

But notwithstanding the exhausting effects of slavery, there are numerous cases in existence where plantations deserted by slave-owners have been taken in hand by free white farmers and worked with profit.

SECTION 3. *Senator Douglas's Amendments.*

The next series of amendments proceeded from Mr. Douglas. They (like Mr. Crittenden's) were introduced in the first instance to the Senate Select Committee of thirteen, and afterwards to the Senate itself. He proposed:—

Sec. 1. That Congress shall not legislate for the territories at all in the matter of slavery; but that the Territorial Government shall be formed on the basis of the Act of 1850, and that the validity of their legislative enactments shall be finally determined by the Supreme Court. That no new territory shall be organized until it contains 20,000 white inhabitants; nor admitted into the Union until it shall contain the requisite population for a representative in Congress.

Sec. 2. Substantially the same as Mr. Crittenden's Nos. 2 and 3.

Sec. 3. African slave trade to be suppressed.

Sec. 4. The second clause of the second section of the fourth article of the Constitution shall be construed to include all crimes committed within and against the State or place from

which the fugitive fled, whether the acts charged were criminal or not in the place where the fugitive was found.

Sec. 5. The elective franchise and the right to hold office, whether federal, state, territorial, or municipal, shall not be exercised by persons of the African race, in whole or in part.

Sec. 6. The United States shall have power to acquire districts of country in Africa or South America for the colonization, at the expense of the Federal Treasury, of such free negroes and mulattoes as the several States may desire to have removed from within their limits, and from the district of Columbia, and such other places as may be under the jurisdiction of Congress.

Sec. 7. Substantially the same as Mr. Crittenden's No. 5.

The first section is simply a plea for the Senator's favourite doctrine of "squatter sovereignty," and is in reality not an amendment, but an explanation of the Federal law as it now stands. Left to themselves in the matter of slavery, the subject of slavery in the territories need never be called up in Congress. Mr. Douglas says nothing respecting territories to be hereafter acquired.

The fourth section introduces a novelty which might lead to difficulties.

The fifth section reduces the already practical disabilities of the free negroes to a legal form. As it is, though *nominally* enjoying all the rights of freemen, they are *really* deprived of them by the intense anti-negro prejudice of the white citizens. But still, though the adoption of Mr. Douglas's amendment

would not practically render the condition of the free negro any worse than it now is, yet the passage of such a resolution by the Northern portion of the Confederacy would be a direct infringement of true republican theory, and a disgrace to a community of free men. We have no love for universal suffrage, for we believe that not a few of the woes of the Union have arisen from that cause; but still we would make no invidious distinctions. If a man is to be deprived of the right of voting, let it not be because he happens to have a darker skin than his neighbour. There are many free negroes and mulattoes in the North, of the highest respectability and moral and mental worth, who are far more worthy of a voice in the national Government than thousands of the white population. Besides all this, we don't know whether the passage of such a law would not be an infringement of the States' Rights principles, about which there is so much talk.

The sixth section is still more onerous than its predecessor, and, like it, should be left to the action of the individual States. We question very much whether any of the free States would vote for the passage of such an expatriation act. Such an enactment would be unjust in the extreme. Imagine a well-to-do "coloured person," the owner of lands and dimes far exceeding the property of the majority of his white neighbours, and whose contributions to the National and State exchequers considerably overtopped theirs, being singled out by some Government official, incited by a jealous neighbour, as a fit object of legal resentment and banishment from his *native* country, ostensibly because one or both of his parents happened to be of

African origin, though really to satisfy a malicious desire. But there is one reason why we think that Mr. Douglas's suggestion would meet with but little favour in the North. The negro race, though despised and degraded in *status*, is a necessary element of the population. They and the *more recent* Irish arrivals are the only people who are not contaminated with the extreme, not to say the absurd, freedom, equality, and fraternity notions of the white natives and *older* immigrants. An American "help," (for they despise the idea and name of "servant,") according to all European travellers and most of the United States aristocracy and hotel-keepers, is the veriest nuisance. They must be addressed with all the deference accorded to their masters and mistresses. They must have free range of the house, go out and come in when they please, hold their parties, and be asked no questions. Now we honour the man or the woman who refuse to be mere slaves and drudges, but there is a difference between "dignity" and "impudence." The negro knows his place and his work, and keeps the one and does the other, and his services are therefore in great call in the Northern States, and consequently not to be dispensed with.

Section 4. *Senator Rice's Proposition.*

On the 28th December, in the Senate Committee, Mr. Rice proposed that the whole of the territories of the Union be admitted at once as two States—one comprising the district north of 36° 30″ north latitude, to be called "the State of Washington," and the other to comprise the district south of that line, and to be called "the State of Jefferson"—both States

to be subdivided as the population increased. But no agreement could be come to.

No constitutional objection can be urged to a settlement on this basis, and such a course would put an end to the dispute at once. If anything, the North would have the advantage by such an arrangement; for though the territories south of the proposed line of division would be nominally handed over to slavery, yet the South would obtain no real gain, inasmuch as the land is said to be unadapted for the cultivation of the great slave products—cotton, sugar, and rice; that, therefore, slavery would be unprofitable, and that consequently the tendency of the State Government would be towards free institutions. According to the law as it is now interpreted by the Supreme Court, the slave-holder has a right to carry his "property" into any of the territories of the Union, and there hold it in spite of the inhabitants until the district is admitted into the Union as a State; but by Messrs. Crittenden's and Rice's propositions being made law, slavery in all of its phases would be kept below 36° 30″.

Speaking of the frivolous complaints of slave-holders about being excluded from the territories, Mr. Adams of Massachusetts, whose father and grandfather were Presidents of the United States, thus remarked on the 31st Jan. 1861:—

"Who excludes the slave-holders with their slaves? Have they not obtained an opinion from the Supreme Court which will in effect override any and every effort of Congress against them? They can, if they choose, now go wherever they like on the public domain. There is no majority in Congress itself to prevent their going, even if it had the power. Why do they not use that right? The reason is plain—it is not for their interest to go so far North. They will not leave the rich bottom lands still open for the profitable cultivation of the cotton plant in

the South to go to a comparatively arid region farther off. The slave-holder follows his own interest in applying his labour in that way that will yield the best result. If he were compelled by law to remove to any part of the territory from which he now complains that he is excluded, he would be apt to regard the decree as a greater outrage than any he now enumerates. The law of political economy regulates this matter much better than any specific statute. It guides this species of labour to the most suitable place, and that place is not the territory of the United States. I understand the validity of this reasoning to be so far conceded that the aggrieved parties are willing to surrender all of it that lies north of the old Compromise line to a perpetual prohibition of slavery therefrom. This limits their complaint of exclusion to the remaining region south of that line. If we exclude the Indian reservations, which are covered by solemn treaties, this leaves nothing but the tract of land which goes under the names of New Mexico and Arizona. It is from this tract that they complain of exclusion. It is for this tract that they demand a constitutional guarantee of protection to slavery, and in case of refusal they are ready to dissolve the Union. Now, I would ask, how stands the fact? This territory has been organized more than ten years. It has been freely opened to slave-holders with their slaves during all that period. Slavery has enjoyed all the protection that a government favourable to it in all its branches has been able to extend over it. The territorial organization has nursed the bantling by every artificial process, even to the concoction of a terrible slave code, which has but one obstacle to its exercise, and that is the absence of all desire to execute it, as well as the want of slaves to whom to apply it. So it has been stretched over upon white people. What more could have been done for protection if your constitutional amendment had been in operation? What more could be done if it were adopted now? New Mexico is under the shield of the Supreme Court. Congress cannot prohibit slavery there in the face of that tribunal. New Mexico has now twenty-two slaves on a surface of over two hundred thousand square miles of her extent, and of these only twelve are domiciled; the remainder are but transient residents. New Mexico shows, then, at this moment all that ten years of protection of slavery has made her. She has a slave code and twelve slaves; and yet you want more protection, and you threaten a dissolution of the Union if you do not get it—forgetting, I apprehend, that if you execute your threat, instead of getting more you may lose all that you have already obtained. If New Mexico has gained only one slave a year during all the time you have had to put them there, it is scarcely likely that the number will increase after your protecting care shall have been totally withdrawn. I think it needs no further argument to show that the question, whether this shall or shall not be slave territory, is like that alluded to by the Roman poet, '*de lana caprina*;' or, in other words, of getting wool out of a goat. I say, then, in answer to the demand of a constitutional guarantee of protection to slavery in New Mexico, that you are asking for what in substance you enjoy already, and what is good for nothing to you if you get it. You will not go with your slaves to New Mexico, for the excellent reason that you are doing

better with them nearer home. Yet still, as this is all the territory left, about which there is any contention between us, the Committee come forward with an intermediate proposal to settle it once for all by making it a State. This puts an end to further strife about prohibition or protection. The people of the territory have already the right granted to them on the statute book of determining the question for themselves. You have on your side possession, which they say makes nine points in the law; we have on ours the aridity of the surface unfavourable to all forms of agricultural labour, and therefore unpropitious to slavery."

The fact is that the cry about the territories is, to use an expressive American term, mere "bunkum"—it means nothing, but accomplishes the object in view. The slave-holders *feel* that slavery is doomed if they do not expand still further South. They know that the North will not permit the annexation of any more slave territory, so they have resolved to "do it themselves." The dreams of the new Confederacy are of Cuba and Central America.

Section 5. *President Buchanan's Second Message.*

On the 9th January the President forwarded to both Houses of Congress a special Message, urging upon them to lay aside every other consideration, and to do something to save the Union. The document exhibited quite a contrast to the Message of December 3rd; and the feature is doubtless traceable to the absence of Messrs. Cobb, Thompson, and Floyd from the Cabinet, the said treasonable trio having resigned during the month, after making everything comfortable for the South in the shape of money and ammunition supplies.

The President spoke strongly for the Union, which he said had been crowned with the most glorious results, to themselves and to the world. He prayed the Congress therefore not to let

it perish for want of prompt and effectual preventative measures. He thought that the South misapprehended the sentiments of the majority of the Northern people, and he suggested that an appeal be made to the ballot box before it would be too late, and continued as follows :—

"I therefore appeal through you to the people of the country to declare in their might that the Union must and shall be preserved by all constitutional means. I most earnestly recommend that you devote yourselves to the question, how this can be accomplished in peace. All other questions, when compared with this, sink into insignificance. The present is no time for palliatives. Prompt action is required. A delay in Congress to prescribe or recommend a distinct and practical proposition for conciliation may drive us to a point from which it will be almost impossible to recede. A common ground on which conciliation and harmony may be produced is surely not unattainable. The proposition to compromise by letting the North have exclusive control of the territory above a certain line, and to give Southern institutions protection below that line, ought to receive universal approbation. In itself, indeed, it may not be entirely satisfactory, but when the alternative is between reasonable concession on both sides and destruction of the Union, it is an imputation on the patriotism of Congress to assert that its members will hesitate a moment. Even now the danger is upon us."

SECTION 6. *Senator Seward's Suggestions.*

Mr. Seward rose to express his views on the Message ; but a call was made for the correspondence between the President and the South Carolina authorities. A long discussion ensued, seasoned with the usual amount of personal invective and general discord, and finally Mr. Davis of Mississippi got the floor on the 11th, and the debate on the Message commenced. Mr. Hunter of Virginia made the speech of the day, and advocated the Crittenden compromises, or something like them.

On the 12th Mr. Seward made a great oration. He opened by declaring himself for the Union, but said that the Confederation could not be preserved by a mere expression of sen-

timent, neither by mutual criminations of the different interests—debate had been exhausted—opinions had become dogmatical. The Union could not be saved by proving secession illegal or unconstitutional. Persons bent on that fearful step would not stand long enough on forms of law to be dislodged, and loyal men would not need such narrow ground to support them. Moderation and mutual concessions, but still concessions which would not sacrifice honestly cherished principles, alone would be effectual. He allowed the sovereignty of the States, but still maintained that the Union was equally sovereign in matters over which it had jurisdiction, and which sovereignty could not be destroyed except by the voluntary consent of the people of the United States. To the people therefore he appealed. The Union was formed for mutual safety, and had been eminently successful in raising the nation to the highest pitch of prosperity. Disunion would be a great calamity to the nation and to mankind. The Union preserved them from internal and external war and strife; disunion would render them liable to both. The country contained all the elements of progress, and the interdependence of the different sections—manufacturing, mining, and agricultural—had been the cause of the rapid progress of the Republic. The Union gave them a position of the first rank in the scale of nations; but disunion would weaken and reduce them in the estimation of European powers; whilst a plurality of nationalities would lead to the establishment of conflicting passions and interests, which would be as prolific of wars as the same causes had been amongst the peoples of the Old World. But notwithstanding all the noise that had been

made, he felt assured that the people were for the Union, and therefore he suggested that the ballot box be allowed to settle the question. So far as he himself was concerned, though he brought forward no plan of conciliation, he was willing to vote for the following amendments:—

"First—A faithful observance of the Fugitive Slave Law, with such modifications of the law as will not oblige private persons to assist in its execution, and as will protect free men from being carried off into slavery. In this proposition is embraced the repeal of all laws of the States, whether free States or slave States, which relate to this class of persons (negroes), contravening the Constitution of the United States or the laws of Congress. [This work of repeal includes Northern Personal Liberty Bills and Southern police regulations in reference to Northern citizens of colour, and Southern State laws, present or prospective, conniving at the African slave trade.]

"Second—A constitutional amendment for ever denying to Congress the power to interfere with slavery in any State.

"Third—While he never will, directly or indirectly, give his vote to establish or sanction slavery in any of the territories, Mr. Seward, after admitting Kansas with her anti-slavery constitution, would be ready to lump and admit all the remaining territories in two other States, if the thing were practicable and could be done constitutionally.

"Fourth—If these measures were practicable, he would prefer a different course, to wit—When 'these eccentric movements of secession and disunion shall have ended,' and 'calmness shall have once more resumed its sway over the public mind, then, and not until then—one, two, or three years hence'—he says, 'I should cheerfully advise a convention of the people, to be assembled in pursuance of the Constitution, to consider and decide whether any, and what, amendments of the organic national law ought to be made.'

"Fifth—He is in favour of two Pacific railways (as a lobby compromise), 'one of which shall connect the ports around the mouths of the Mississippi, and the other the towns on the Missouri and the lakes with the harbours on our Western coast.'"*

Thus both the President and Mr. Seward desire to let the responsibility of an adjustment rest with the people.

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* Synopsis by *New York Herald.*

SECTION 7. *The Reports of the Committee of Thirty-three.*

The Senate Committee, as we have seen, dissolved without coming to any practical conclusion; but the House Committee, though agreeing to differ, split itself into five or six different sections and brought forth as many reports.

The *first* one was termed the "Majority Report," and was voted for by the Republicans. It treats the subject of fugitive slaves much after the same manner as Mr. Seward; denounces the idea that the Northern people have any thoughts of interfering with the institution of slavery as established; and attributes the disturbances at the South to the impression that the late election victory was won by a party advocating extreme abolition views, and which intended, through Congressional action, to abolish slavery in the States where it now exists. To do away with this unfounded prejudice the Committee was prepared to submit an amendment to the Constitution for ever prohibiting the interference of Congress with slavery, unless with the consent of the whole of the States of the Union; and to rid the Federal Government of the controversy, it suggested that New Mexico be at once admitted as a State under a slave code. In the mean time they declared that there existed no cause for disunion; and that the Government must enforce the laws, and protect the national property. They then recommended the free States to revise their statutes, so as to remove all obstruction to the action of the Fugitive Slave Law; whilst at the same time they demanded that the rights of Northern citizens and free negroes should be respected during their sojourn in the Southern States.

What was called *the* Minority Report was signed by Messrs. Taylor of Louisiana; Phelps of Missouri; Rust of Arkansas; Whiteley of Delaware; and Winslow of North Carolina. It declared positively that, through party misconstruction and perversion, the Constitution had ceased to accomplish the most important ends aimed at by its adoption; and that to bring about a solution of the present difficulties, and so enable the people of the two sections of the country to continue united under a common government, it would be necessary to pass a series of constitutional amendments similar to those offered by Mr. Crittenden. If a constitutional majority could not be obtained for those resolutions the dissolution of the Union was certain. The report then recommended the calling of a Convention of the States for the purpose of arranging terms for a peaceable separation.

A second Minority Report, signed by Messrs. Washburn of Wisconsin, and Taffan of New Hampshire, maintained that a faithful observation of the Constitution as it at present stands, was amply sufficient to meet all present and pending difficulties. A third Report, signed by Messrs. Burch of California, and Stout of Oregon, professes little faith in the ability of politicians to bring peace to the country, and suggests that the people, "the source of Federal power," be appealed to. A fourth Report, signed by Messrs. Lave of Georgia, and Hamilton of Texas, advocates Union on the basis of the Crittenden Resolutions. A fifth, from Mr. Adams of Massachusetts, gives the matter up in despair.

SECTION 8. *The Border States' Compromise.*

Finding the two committees to be making such poor progress, a number of the representatives of the States of Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, Kentucky, Missouri, North Carolina, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, &c., formed themselves into a committee, and agreed on the 5th of January upon recommending (1), a revised fugitive slave law, less distasteful to the Northern people than the existing one, and which would secure the free coloured inhabitants against kidnapping; (2), non-interference by Congress with slavery as it exists in the slave States, or in places under Government jurisdiction; (3), the integrity of the internal, but the prohibition of the external slave trade; (4), the adoption of the line of 36° 30″ through the territories—the district North to be free, and the district South to be parcelled out into States containing 60,000 square miles, to be admitted into the Union when they contained the population requisite for one member of Congress, with or without slavery, as they desired—the safety of the institution during the territorial existence to be guaranteed.

This measure, however, received but little favour. A similar plan was introduced by Mr. Etheridge into the House of Representatives on the 7th of January, and still another one by Mr. Kellogg on the 1st of February; but both without obtaining any favour. In fact both North and South seemed alike indifferent as to the fate of the Union. The seceded States had declared that they were "out," and intended to remain so. The Republicans, under such circumstances, refused to vote for any project which had the appearance of a compromise.

Section 9. *The Peace Conference of Virginia.*

At this juncture of affairs Virginia stepped forward, and offered her mediation in order to stay, if possible, the further progress of disunion. Her Report was communicated to Congress by President Buchanan on the 28th of January. Mr. Buchanan, in a message accompanying the Resolutions, thus summarised their contents, and expressed himself as to the important results which the proposed conference might realize :—

"The Resolutions, it will be perceived, extend an invitation to all States, whether slave-holding or non-slave-holding, as are willing to unite with Virginia in an earnest effort to adjust the present unhappy controversies, in the spirit in which the Constitution was originally formed, and consistently with its principles, so as to afford to the people of the slave-holding States adequate guarantees for the security of their rights, to appoint commissioners to meet on the 4th day of February next, in the city of Washington, similar commissioners appointed by Virginia, to consider, and, if practicable, agree upon some suitable adjustment.

"I confess I hail the movement on the part of Virginia with great satisfaction. From the past history of this ancient and renowned Commonwealth we have the fullest assurance that what she has undertaken she will accomplish, if it can be done by able, enlightened, and persevering efforts. It is highly gratifying to know that other patriotic States have appointed and are appointing commissioners to meet those of Virginia in council. When assembled they will constitute a body entitled in an eminent degree to the confidence of the country."

The Convention met as appointed on the 4th of February, Ex-President Tyler, "who had left his dignified and honoured retirement, in the hope that he might render service to his country in its hour of peril," in the Chair, and, pending the decision arrived at, nothing further was done either in or out of Congress. The States of Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North

Carolina, Tennessee, Kentucky, Missouri, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Iowa, Wisconsin, and Kansas, sent deputations. Of the seceded States Georgia expressed her willingness to abide by the decision of the Conference; but South Carolina, with her usual amount of fire-eating folly and contemptuous fanaticism, flatly refused to have anything to do with the proceeding. "The separation," said her Legislature, "of South Carolina from the Federal Union is final, and she has no further interest in the Constitution of the United States; and that the only appropriate negotiations between her and the Federal Government are as to their mutual relations as *foreign* States."

The Conference had a lengthy and somewhat stormy sitting, and for over three weeks it was doubtful whether any agreement would be arrived at. However, on the 27th February, the following Resolutions were agreed to and presented to Congress. We print them in full because it is probable that they will form the basis of future negotiation between the two sections:—

"SEC. 1. In all the *present territory* of the United States north of the parallel of 36° 30′ of north latitude, involuntary servitude, except in punishment of crime, is prohibited. In all the *present territory* south of that line the status of persons held to service or labour, as it now exists, shall not be changed. Nor shall any law be passed by Congress or the Territorial Legislature to hinder or prevent the taking of such persons from any of the States of this Union to said territory, nor to impair the rights arising from said relation. But the same shall be subject to judicial cognizance in the Federal Courts, according to the course of the common law. When any such territory, north or south of said line, with such boundary as Congress may prescribe, shall contain a population equal to that required for a member of Congress, it shall, if its form of government be republican, be admitted into the Union on an equal footing with the original States, with or without involuntary servitude, as the Constitution of such State may provide.

"SEC. 2. No territory shall be accepted by the United States, except by discovery and for naval and commercial stations, depôts, and transit routes, without

the concurrence of a majority of all the senators from the States which allow involuntary servitude, and a majority of all the senators from the States which prohibit that relation; nor shall territory be acquired by treaty, unless the votes of a majority of the senators from each class of States hereinbefore mentioned be cast as a part of the two-thirds majority necessary to the ratification of such treaty.

"SEC. 3. Neither the Constitution, nor any amendment thereto, shall be construed to give Congress power to regulate, abolish, or control, within any State or territory of the United States, the relation established or recognised by the laws thereof, touching persons bound to labour or involuntary service, in the district of Columbia, without the consent of Maryland and without the consent of the owners, or making the owners who do not consent just compensation; nor the power to interfere with or prohibit representatives and others from bringing with them to the city of Washington, retaining and taking away, persons so bound to labour or service; nor the power to interfere with or abolish involuntary service in places under the exclusive jurisdiction of the United States within those States or territories where the same is established or recognised; nor the power to prohibit the removal or transportation of persons held to labour or involuntary service, in any State or territory of the United States, to any other State or territory thereof, where it is established or recognised by law or usage; and the right, during transportation by sea or river, of touching at ports, shores, and landings, and of landing in case of distress, but not for sale or traffic, shall exist; nor shall Congress have power to authorise any higher rate of taxation, on persons held to labour or service, than on land. The bringing into the district of Columbia of persons held to labour or service for sale, or placing them in depôts, to be afterwards transferred to other places for sale as merchandize, is prohibited, and the right of transit through any State or territory against its dissent, is prohibited.

"SEC. 4. The third paragraph of the second section of the fourth article of the Constitution shall not be construed to prevent any of the States, by appropriate legislation and through the action of their judicial and ministerial officers, from enforcing the delivery of fugitives from labour to the person to whom such services or labour are due.

"SEC. 5. The foreign slave trade is hereby for ever prohibited; and it shall be the duty of Congress to pass laws to prevent the importation of slaves, coolies, or persons held to service or labour, into the United States and the territories from places beyond the limits thereof.

"SEC. 6. The first, third, and fifth sections, together with this section, six of these amendments, and the third paragraph of the second section of the first article of the Constitution, and the third paragraph of the second section of the fourth article thereof, shall not be amended or abolished without the consent of all the States.

"SEC. 7. Congress shall provide by law that the United States shall pay to

the owner the full value of his fugitives from labour, in all cases where the marshal, or other officer whose duty it was to arrest such fugitive, was prevented from so doing by violence or intimidation from mobs or riotous assemblages, or when, after arrest, such fugitive was rescued by like violence or intimidation, and the owner thereby prevented and obstructed in the pursuit of his remedy for the recovery of such fugitive. Congress shall provide by law for securing to the citizens of each State the privileges and immunities of the several States."

It will be perceived that the Resolutions contain all the best features of the adjustments previously brought forward. There was some difficulty experienced in getting the word "present" inserted before the word "territory" in the first section; and its presence leaves no room for future quibbling. Should any new territory be annexed to the Union, the slave-holders would have no claim to carry their "property" therein; but should they anticipate any grievance therefrom, the second section of the amendment furnishes them with a remedy. The effect of the passage of this second clause would probably be to prevent any further additions to the possessions of the Union—a result anything but undesirable, so far as the interests of freedom are concerned. Still it would perhaps be better if the Constitution could be so amended as to prohibit the acceptance of any new territory, except for naval and commercial purposes, unless the inhabitants of such territory were prepared to come into the Union at once as a *State*, with institutions acceptable to its own population.

Section 10. *The Closing Proceedings of the 36th Congress.*

In the Senate on the 27th February, the Resolutions of the Peace Conference were ordered to be printed by a vote of 26 to 21. On the 28th the discussion thereon recommenced. Mr.

Seward proposed that the Legislatures of the various States be called to take the subject into consideration. Mr. Doolittle suggested that the following important proviso be added to the first section:—

"Provided, That this section shall take effect on the express condition that no State, or any part thereof, heretofore admitted, or hereafter to be admitted, should have power to withdraw from the jurisdiction of the United States; and that the Constitution be the supreme law of the land, anything contained in any Constitution or ordinance of any State or Legislature to the contrary notwithstanding."

On the 1st March, Mr. Hunter of Virginia, moved to strike out the first article of the Peace Congress propositions, and insert the first article of the Crittenden Resolutions; but he was overruled on the grounds that Congress had no right to amend the propositions in such a manner. They should be taken as they stood, or rejected. Mr. Crittenden, amidst considerable applause, stated his willingness to vote against his own Resolutions and in favour of those of the Peace Congress, as he considered that the latter gave the South the best possible security for their rights. The debate was continued on the 2nd, 3rd (Sunday), and 4th (Monday morning) March, without any conclusive result. The nearest approach made was on a motion to pass the Crittenden Resolutions, which was lost by a majority of one—the vote being 19 Yeas against 20 Nays. The Constitutional amendment, given on page 139, passed by the House on the 28th February, was, however, ratified.

In the House of Representatives on the 27th February, a motion was made, "recommending to the several States of the Union that they, through their respective Legislatures, request Congress to call a Convention of all the States for the purpose

of amending the Constitution in such manner, and with regard to such objects, as will more adequately redound to the wants and offer more sufficient guarantees to the diversified and growing interests of the Government, and of the people composing the same," but was rejected. Mr. Kellogg then brought forward his amendments, but they were rejected; Yeas 38, Nays 158. The next vote was on the Crittenden Resolutions, which were rejected by a majority of 33, viz., 80 against 113. The *Majority* Report of the Committee of Thirty-three was then taken up, and, after some discussion, passed to a third reading—136 against 53. A summary of the Report is given under § 7 of the present chapter. The following amendment to the Constitution was then proposed for recommendation to the Legislatures of the several States:—

"That no amendment shall be made to the Constitution, which will authorize or give Congress power to abolish or interfere within any State with the domestic institutions thereof, including that of persons held to labour or servitude by the laws of said State."

But it was negatived—120 against 71. On the 28th, a motion was made, and passed—128 against 65—to reconsider the vote, and the result was the passage of the above Resolution by a vote of 133 against 65. The announcement was received with tremendous applause from all parts of the House. On the 1st March the Majority Report was brought up for a third reading, but was tabled by a vote of 114 against 71. "An amendment of the Act for the Rendition of Fugitives from Labour," in accordance with the suggestions of the Majority Report, then passed a first reading—92 against 82. The remainder of

the session was consumed in little else than talk, and on the 4th the thirty-sixth Congress of the United States came to a close.

SECTION 11. *President Lincoln's Inaugural Address.*

Every attempt to restore peace to the Union by means of congressional action had thus failed. The treasonable, high-handed, and most unreasonable attitude assumed by the seceded States, had disgusted every moderate and sensible man in the Congress; and the consequence was that the majority in both Houses were indisposed to pass any measure akin to conciliation.

This result had been long anticipated by the people; and the nation had for some time been anxiously awaiting the delivery of the new administration's inaugural manifesto. The all-important event took place on the 4th March; and a copy of Mr. Lincoln's Address will be found in the Appendix.

The new President confined his Address to a consideration of the great topic of the day. He took exactly the same view as his predecessor as to the legality of secession. He took oath to preserve the Union, and therefore he could not constitutionally recognize the right of a State to withdraw from the Confederation and cease to fulfil its obligations to the Central Government. He had been constitutionally elected to preside over the Government of the *whole* Republic, and therefore he was not in a position to recognize any other authority than that of the people who elected him. Besides all this, he considered that secession was uncalled for, revolutionary, and not calculated

to realize the objects of those who were dissatisfied with the Union. He should therefore perform all the duties of his high office; and, without infringing upon any of the lawful rights of any of the States, should collect the public revenue, and protect the national property in all the States. He trusted that this declaration would not be regarded as a menace, but only as *the declared purpose of the Union that it would constitutionally defend itself.*

Respecting the grievances of slave-holders, he considered that the safety of their vital interests were guaranteed by the Constitution as it stood; but whether they were or not, he had no power to change the dictum of that instrument—the people alone could do that. He was aware that many worthy and patriotic citizens were desirous of having the national Constitution amended; and though he had himself no recommendation of amendments to make, he freely recognised the full authority of the people over the whole subject to be exercised in either of the modes prescribed in the instrument itself; and he should, under existing circumstances, favour rather than oppose a fair opportunity being afforded the people to act upon it. He ventured to add, that to him the Convention mode seemed preferable in that it allowed amendments to originate with the people themselves, instead of only permitting them to take or reject propositions originated by others not specially chosen for the purpose, and which might not be precisely such as they would wish themselves to accept or refuse.

The Message recognised the constitutional right of slave-

owners to reclaim fugitives from labour, and also the legal inability of Congress to interfere with slavery in the States wherein that institution at present exists.

The territories were dismissed in a very few words. "Must Congress protect slavery in the territories? The Constitution does not expressly say." On this question the Congress decides by majorities and minorities, and the minorities must abide by the result, or else there is no Government. To do otherwise would lead to anarchy and despotism.

Many people found fault with Mr. Lincoln for not suggesting some mode of adjustment; but clearly he was not bound to do anything of the kind. In leaving the matter to the people he acted in a manner at once the most prudent and most constitutional.

The latest information respecting the crisis, up to the hour of going to press, will be found in a supplementary chapter at the close of the present volume.

CHAPTER V.

The Ties of the Union.—Effects of their Severance.

Section 1. *Extent of the Disunion Sentiment.*

Speaking generally, the North, West, and Middle States are in favour of maintaining the Confederation, and the South of dissolving it. We say speaking generally, for there is a small minority in the Northern, and a large minority in the Middle (border slave) States, who advocate disunion; and a large minority in the Southern (or seceded) States who deprecate it.

The Northern minority is composed of the ultra-abolitionists who think that slavery would perish, or at least begin to perish, with final secession. At a meeting of the Anti-Slavery Society, held at New York May 13th, 1857, the Rev. O. B. Frothingham said—"They demanded justice for the slave *at any price*—of Constitution, *of Union*, of country." "He believed that this Union effectually prevented them from advancing, in the least degree, the work of the slave's redemption." At the same meeting William Lloyd Garrison remarked—"So long as this blood-stained Union existed there was but little hope for the slave." The same celebrated orator, a short time previously, said—"This Union is a lie; the American Union is a sham,

an imposture, a covenant with death, an agreement with hell." "Let the slave-holding Union go, and slavery will go with the Union down into the dust."

The Conservative majority in the border slave States, and the Union-loving minority in the extreme South, consist of the mercantile and thinking portion of the Southerners, who fear that the political and commercial progress of the whole people would be retarded by dissolution.

The opinions of these latter are identical with the notions of the great majority of the Northern and Western States' citizens, and, together, may be said to compose at least three-fourths of the entire population of the United States.

These people divest the disunion question of its adventitious surroundings. They do not allow their minds to be biassed by either Northern or Southern fanaticism. They view the subject from every stand-point, examine it in all its bearings, and see in secession something both unnatural and impolitic.

In their estimate the Confederation is not a mere artificial partnership, capable of being annulled at any time without injury to the good of human progress and general well-being; but a natural association of varying but interdependent interests, instinctively and irresistibly drawn together by ties of mutual necessities, the severance of which would be doing violence to the dictates of nature, and the best interests of civilization. Facts bear them out.

Section 2. *Commercial Advantages of Union.*

Prior to the era of independence, and subsequently, down to the war of 1812-15, the people employed themselves chiefly in agricultural pursuits; and, taking into consideration the want of capital and the sparseness of the population, they could not have better occupied their labour. Down to the year 1815 the disturbed state of Europe, by drawing away the labour of the nations from productive (chiefly agricultural) to unproductive employments, had created a large demand for American agricultural commodities; but with peace came a cessation in the European demand for American provisions; and it soon became apparent that either a new market must be found for the farm products of the Union, or else that less of those particular commodities must be produced. The rapid increase in population, and the consequent addition to the stock of labour wanting remunerative employment, made this still more imperative.

But already a remedial influence had commenced its work. The embargo and war periods, ranging between 1808 and 1815, had, by excluding foreign manufactures from the ports, given being to numerous manufacturing establishments in the North-Eastern States. By this means a new direction was given to a portion of the capital, and a new field of employment to a portion of the labour of the Republic; besides which an important as well as certain home market was created for the products of the farmer. It is not surprising therefore that the Government was supported by the people in its work of protecting the infant

manufactures of the Union from the influence of foreign competition. The only parties who objected to the new order of things were the planters of the Southern States, for they had not been slow in discovering that it paid them better to cultivate cotton than to grow corn and raise live stock, especially as these latter could be obtained from the Western States at cheaper rates than they could produce them themselves; and they naturally concluded that any system of economy which increased the demand for provisions, would raise their price in the general market, and thereby curtail the profits of cotton planters, not growing their own food. But (as explained in Part I., Chap. III.) the South willingly suffered what little loss, if any, it sustained in this way, in return for assistance received from Northern manufacturers towards increasing and consolidating its slave system; besides which the fact was that the South was the most available market for the products of the Western States; the Mississippi and its tributaries bringing the two sections of the country into close proximity at a cheaper rate than the inefficient, artificial-navigationary-connecting links between the West and East. This facility of communication between the West and South neutralized the effects of the Eastern demand; the balance of transit charges against the East rendering it more profitable for the Western farmer to land his produce in the Southern States.

Thus in process of time, the country resolved itself naturally into three great sections; the Eastern States becoming principally manufacturing, the Western chiefly farming, and

the Southern, almost exclusively, planting; all intimately connected and mutually dependent. This triple alliance has been further and further consolidated, year by year, and by it the capital and labour of the nation have been enabled to take a direction, at once the most profitable and best calculated to develop the peculiar natural resources and capabilities of the different sections of the Union. Hence President Buchanan remarked, in his special Message of the 9th January, 1861:—

"If we descend to considerations of purely material interest, when, in the history of all time, has a confederacy been bound together by such strong ties of mutual interest? Each portion of it is dependent upon all, and all upon each portion, for prosperity and domestic security. Free trade throughout the whole supplies the wants of one portion from the productions of another, and scatters wealth everywhere. The great planting and farming States require the aid of the commercial and navigating States to send their productions to domestic and foreign markets, and furnish the naval power to render their transportation secure against all hostile attacks."

Section 3. *The links of the Confederation.*

It is curious and instructive to trace this Union of interests in its various ramifications. Speaking in the gross the case may be said to stand thus:—

The farmer supplies grain to the manufacturer, miner, and planter, and receives payment partly in sugar, rice, and tobacco supplied, and foreign produce paid for, by the planter, and partly in clothing, machinery, &c., made by the manufacturer. The surplus produce of the farmer is partly exported, and partly converted into spirits, or metamorphosed into wool and live stock, which in their turn are disposed of, partly to the planter and partly to the manufacturer.

The manufacturer supplies the planter with clothing, bagging, machinery, tools, &c., and receives in return raw materials, &c., produced, or foreign produce paid for, by the planter. The surplus manufactures are exported.

The planter supplies cotton, rice, sugar, and tobacco to the farmer and manufacturer, and then appropriates the remainder of his produce in meeting the balance of trade against the whole Union, or, more strictly, against the North and West.

Each interest, of course, first supplies its own wants of its own particular produce.

It is found that the South (*i.e.* planters) consumes more Western (*i.e.* farmers) and Northern (*i.e.* manufacturers) produce than the West and North consume of Southern produce.

It is also found that foreign countries consume more Southern produce than the South consumes of foreign produce.

And it is also found that the North and West consume more foreign produce than foreign nations consume of Northern and Western produce.

The South is thus debtor to the North and West, and creditor to foreign countries, whilst the North and West are debtors to foreign countries, and creditors to the South. In the end, the balance is adjusted by the North and West drawing upon the South, in favour of foreign nations.

Or again, foreign nations do not want (that is, comparatively) Northern or Western produce: hence the balance against the North and West; but they do want Southern produce: hence the balance in favour of the South. So the South takes the Northern and Western produce, which should be taken by

foreign nations to make the balance straight, converts it into cotton, and exports it.

We will endeavour to make the above propositions plainer by an analysis of last year's trade.

The total value of the imports into the Union in 1860 was $362,160,000, or not quite $11½ per head of population. Supposing these imports to be equally distributed over the Union, but reckoning the per capita consumption of the slaves at about one-fourth that of the free citizens, the appropriation would be about as follows :—

Total import			$362,160,000
Taken by the population of the North at a little over $12·80 per head		.. $242,320,000	
Taken by the free population of the South, at about $12·80 per head	$107,840,000		
Taken by the slaves at about $3 per head ..	12,000,000	$119,840,000	$362,160,000

This division gives to the North *two-thirds*, and to the South *one-third* of the total imports. A large portion of the South's share is received *viâ* the North; the *direct* imports of the slave States being very small. We have not the figures at hand for 1860; but for 1859 they were as follows :—

Total import into the Union		$338,762,997
„ „	Free States ..	305,807,716
„ „	Slave States ..	32,955,281

Turning to the export trade of the country, we find that the total value of the entire shipments of the Union in 1860 was $400,120,000; if from this amount we deduct $17,335,000

for foreign produce re-exported, and $66,545,000 for specie and bullion, there remains the sum of $316,240,000 as representing the value of *domestic* produce exported.

Supposing both sections of the Union to furnish their due quota of the nation's exports, and assuming that quota to be in the same proportion as that suggested respecting the imports, viz., two-thirds by the North, and one-third by the South, the figures would stand as follows:—

Exports of Northern produce ..	$210,826,600
,, Southern do. ..	105,413,400
Total ..	$316,240,000

Whereas the actual figures were about as follows:—

Exports of Northern produce ..		$ 97,677,000
,, Southern do.		
viz.:—		
Cotton ..	$191,806,500	
Tobacco ..	,, 15,906,500	
Other articles	,, 10,850,000	
		218,563,000
Total ..		$316,240,000

Showing a balance in favour of the South, after paying for its consumption of foreign goods, of $ 113,149,600. To this sum, however, must be added about $ 30,000,000 for sugar, tobacco, and rice sold to the North and West, and about $ 38,000,000 for cotton consumed by Northern spinners,* thus raising the amount of Southern produce exported abroad, or sold to the North and West, to $ 181,509,600, over the consumption of foreign pro-

* The actual number of bales of cotton taken for consumption by the States north and west of Virginia during the year ending August 31st, 1860, was 792,521; these, at an average weight of 447 lbs. per bale, and 10¾ cents per lb. —the average weight and price of the crop—cost 38,082,615 dollars.

duce by the South, which amount may therefore be taken as the value of Northern and Western manufactures and provisions consumed by the slave States. What may be the *exact* proportions of the two kinds of products consumed it is impossible to say, but we shall not be far astray if we assume them to be in the ratio of one-fourth provisions and three-fourths manufactures—*i. e.* $45,377,400 and $136,132,200 respectively.

In all this the South imagines that it is doing a favour to the North and West at its own expense, whereas the transaction is mutually beneficial, though if anything more profitable to the South than the North and West, inasmuch as the articles which the South takes from the North and West are sold to the South at a cheaper rate than it could produce them itself, whilst it obtains a second profit in the remunerative character of its cotton transactions with the foreigner. The connection has been beneficial to the South in another way: it has enabled the planters to obtain and keep the monopoly of supplying the cotton spinners of Europe with their essential raw material. The extent to which the labour of the Southern States has been drawn from other employments to the cultivation of the cotton plant may be inferred from a glance at the following table:—

YEARS.	Crop of Cotton in lbs. weight.	Number of Slaves.	Pounds weight produced per Slave.
1820	167,652,682	1,538,098	109
1830	331,227,300	2,009,000	165
1840	790,260,000	2,487,000	275
1850	1,020,550,000	3,296,000	314
1860	2,158,900,000	3,999,000	540

Had the cotton planters been forced to produce all the provisions they needed for home consumption, it is clear that they could not have made such rapid progress as they have done in the cultivation of cotton; they would consequently have failed to meet the requirements of manufacturers; other sources of supply would have sprung up; and the Southern States would have lost or, rather, never obtained their present virtual monopoly of the trade.

The sensible portion of the cotton planters are fully alive to the danger which would threaten their supremacy were they forced to curtail their production—hence the endeavours to persuade the Western free States to join them in secession. At a caucus of Southern Senators held at Washington on the 8th December last, the correspondent of the *New York Herald* in his despatch of that day stated: "The current of opinion seemed to set strongly in favour of a reconstruction of the Union *without the New England States;*" and Gov. Letcher of Virginia, in his Message of the 7th January, recommended that a new Union be formed minus New England and Western New York. The planters are aware that they can obtain manufactures as cheap from Europe as from the North; but they know that they cannot obtain food in the same manner or produce it themselves as cheaply as it can be obtained from the free States; and they know full well that secession would drive the trade of the West *up* the Mississippi instead of *down*, whilst the tendency of labour and capital towards agricultural employment would be checked and directed towards the opening up of communications between the East and West, and in increasing manufacturing products for export.

SECTION 4. *The Prospects of Cotton.*

Southern politicians of the secession school state that when separated from the Union they will open their ports freely to foreign manufactures; but will, if the Western States refuse to join them, themselves produce all the provisions they require for home consumption.

Now, admitting the practicability of carrying out this idea, what would be the effect on the cotton-producing power of the country? The last crop of cotton was an exceedingly large one, viz., 4,829,770 bales, inclusive of the amount taken *direct* from the plantations and consumed in the interior, and at an average of 447 lbs. per bale and 10¾ cents per lb. was worth $232,082,523 (£48,350,525); and the value of the provisions purchased from the free States, as previously estimated, $45,377,400. Had the slave States therefore raised all the provisions they required for home consumption, from their own lands, there would have been $45,377,400 worth less of cotton grown, or about 3,928,000 bales, instead of 4,829,770 bales. With the consummation of a Southern Confederacy, therefore, we may anticipate a falling off of something like twenty per cent., or one-fifth, in the extent of the future crops, compared with what the yield would have been had there been no disturbing influences in action.

What might be the whole effect of the change it is difficult to say, but it may be safely expected that a reduced supply of so essential an article of commerce and manufacture as is that of cotton would greatly enhance its price, the result of which

would be an expansion of the growth in other cotton-producing countries.

A high range of prices for two or three seasons in succession would enable capitalists to introduce an improved mode of culture in India, and to open up the resources of Africa, and permanently establish the cotton trade in that continent. For, once placed on a secure footing by the introduction of European money and superintendence, the trade would be able to meet any fall in prices which might subsequently take place. All that is wanted is a start. But with plenty of American cotton there will be no inducement for capitalists to employ their means in a new and distant field with the prospect of an extremely poor dividend, if not a positive loss. Give them high prices, however, until they are fairly at work, and they will then—by reason of knowledge and skill acquired, and experience gained—successfully compete with the would-be Southern Confederacy, at any range of prices, however low.

"Possession is nine points of the law;" and so long as the Southern planters continue to bring into the market a large supply of good cotton at a cheap rate, it will be impossible for any outsider to make headway against them. The superior quality and peculiar characteristics of American cotton, its better adaptability for many purposes than the produce of other countries, became very apparent to our spinners sixty years ago; hence the imports from the West Indies, Brazils, &c., were less patronized than formerly, and gradually fell behind their youthful competitor. The growth of the United States became the favourite raw material of "Manchester;" improvements in

machinery were made to suit its peculiar staple; new mills sprung up in every direction, having their mechanism formed for the consumption of American cotton only: the spinning of other kinds being impossible without incurring a considerable expense in alterations. Thus everything combined to strengthen the position of "King Cotton," and he has reigned supreme, without fear of dislodgment. But let him put his subjects on short supply, and his throne would soon become very insecure; various individuals would attempt to undermine his power; but that Prince whose produce most resembled the fruit of the failing monarch would have the best credentials for succeeding him. The nearest approach at present known is the cotton of Africa; and there is every reason for believing that, with an adequate demand, our supplies from that quarter could be indefinitely increased. But so long as our spinners have a prejudice against every other produce except that of the United States, and so long as that prejudice is kept alive by a full supply from America, neither Africa, India, nor any other place will be able to shake the throne of the slave-holding Autocrat. But reduce our imports from the Southern States from 75 per cent. of the whole arrivals, which is the present ratio, to 50 or 55 per cent., which it is probable would be the effect of secession, and other countries would have an opportunity of making their claims good.

The result shortly would be to keep down prices to a moderate, though sufficiently remunerative, level, and to do away with the ruinous fluctuations the trade is now subjected to by reason of the fickleness of the American crops.

Looking at the matter from these points of view the aspect is not very flattering to the prospects of "King Cotton." Of course, "different people have different opinions," and Southern planters ridicule the idea of competition. Indeed some of them think that a permanent reduction in the amount of the cotton crops would be a benefit rather than otherwise. At the Southern Commercial Convention held in May, 1858, a Report was presented recommending the revival of the African slave trade as a means of adding to the deficient labour supply of the planters, and was opposed by a Mr. Pryor, on the grounds that the South did not want more labour.

"The South had the monopoly of the supply of cotton, and it was better to produce a small quantity at a high price than a large quantity at a low price. The idea that any other country could come into competition with us in this line he regarded as baseless." "The interest of the South was to keep the price of cotton high. The evil which the cotton-producing States had to dread was an oversupply of cotton. Queen Elizabeth used to say that an ungovernable beast must be stinted in its provender. To keep a curb in the mouth of the manufacturing interest, care must be taken not to glut it with cotton."

The same idea was thus unfolded by Governor Hammond, of South Carolina, in the United States Senate, March 4th, 1858:—

"The South is perfectly competent to go on one, two, or three years without planting a seed of cotton. I believe that if she was to plant but half her cotton for three years to come, it would be an immense advantage to her. I am not so sure but that after three years' total abstinence she would come out stronger than ever she was before, and better prepared to enter afresh upon her great career of enterprise. What would happen if no cotton was furnished for three years? I will not stop to depict what every one can imagine; but this is certain—England would topple headlong and carry the whole civilized world with her, *save the South.*"

Save the South! Her mortgaged plantations could lie fallow, and her negroes could give full vent to the lazy qualities their

masters upbraid them of. The food and clothing of one million labourers, the probable number employed in cotton-growing, would not cost much—merely about as much as the United States revenue! In fine, the people, black and white, could exist without working at all! It is a mistaken idea to suppose that it is as necessary to the South to produce and sell cotton, or anything else, as it is to England to buy and consume it!

To such an extent is the South buoyed up by these fanatical notions that it supposes that, should the Federal Government blockade the ports of the seceded States, England would demand the immediate removal of the obstructions, on the grounds that Lancashire and Yorkshire would be rioting for food. Fanaticism could go no further. Great Britain has no need for apprehension; and the Southern States are mistaken if they suppose that present or future complications will compel our Government to barter its honour in order to preserve its pocket.

Even if no *extraordinary* exertions were made to increase our supplies from other quarters, there would not be much difficulty in meeting and remedying any sudden emergency. A cotton famine has often been impending, but we have always been able to avert such a calamity. Looking over the statistics of the past ten years, we find that in 1853 our cotton imports from the United States showed a falling off, compared with the previous year, of 107,178,748 lbs.; but an increase of 96,915,628 lbs. from the East Indies. In 1857 there was a decrease in the arrivals from the United States of 125,281,968 lbs.; but in the same

year the receipts from other quarters showed an increase as follows:—

From India	69,831,520	lbs.
„ the Brazils	8,089,128	„
„ the West Indies, &c. ..	2,567,616	„
Total ..	80,488,264	lbs.

Certainly a long way from making up the deficiency from America, but enough to prevent the occurrence of circumstances such as South Carolina and Co. would have us look for. Any *permanent* falling off in the American supply would be met with even greater certainty than the temporary deficiencies here noticed. All that the cotton growers of India and Africa want is the certainty of a market for their produce; but so long as America holds possession of the market, and, by virtue of that possession, dictates not only the price of its own produce but also that of other countries, there is no inducement for Indian or African expansion. All agriculturists in case of failing crops look to an advance in prices in the general market for a mitigation of their losses; but the Indian cotton planters are deprived of this ordinary means of partial reimbursement by the action of the American crops—the price of Indian cotton is ruled, not by the supply of Indian cotton, but by the supply of American cotton.

Thus the cotton planters of the South hold their monopoly on a certain condition—that they keep up the supply: let them fail in this one particular and they lose their position, and with that loss decline in political importance.

A mutual exchange of commodities is beneficial to all nations,

but it does not necessarily follow that if one nation deprives the remainder of the usual supply of a particular article that the vacuum cannot be filled up by other countries. When the Russo-Turkish war broke out in 1854 everybody expected that we should have to put ourselves on short allowance for hemp, &c., and linseed. But what were the facts? The following tables explain:—

QUANTITY OF HEMP, JUTE, AND OTHER FIBRES OF THE NATURE OF HEMP, IMPORTED INTO THE UNITED KINGDOM.

YEARS.	FROM RUSSIA.		FROM INDIA.		Total from all Countries.
	lbs.	Per cent. of Total.	lbs.	Per cent. of Total.	lbs.
1846-53 average	69,682,312	60	38,760,792	33	115,949,414
1853 only	93,673,664	66	35,664,112	24	141,438,416
1856-59 average	69,019,636	37	91,433,692	48	189,404,324

IMPORT OF LINSEED INTO THE UNITED KINGDOM.

YEARS.	FROM RUSSIA.		FROM INDIA.		Total from all Countries.
	lbs.	Per cent. of Total.	lbs.	Per cent. of Total.	lbs.
1853	765,019	74	151,113	15	1,035,335
1859	665,387	53	526,566	42	1,270,911

Here it will be perceived that during the eight years prior to the war 60 per cent. of our total import of hemp, &c., was from Russia—in the last year of the eight 66 per cent.—and the supplies from India 33 and 24 per cent. respectively; whilst for the four years ending 1859 our purchases from Russia reached

only 37 per cent. against our import from India of 48 per cent. With respect to linseed, in 1853, the year before the war, Russia supplied us with nearly three-fourths of our total imports—India a little over one-eighth; but in 1859 our receipts from Russia were only 53 per cent., while from India they were 42 per cent. of the total imports from all quarters.

Take another illustration. At the close of the last century the coffee consumers of Europe depended upon St. Domingo for nearly the whole of their favourite beverage; but the disturbances of 1792 almost destroyed the trade of the country, and transferred the coffee branch of it to the Brazils, where it still remains. In 1806 the crop of the latter country was only about 30,000 bags; last year (1860) it reached about 4,000,000 bags! Seventy years ago the exports of coffee from St. Domingo amounted to about 77,000,000 lb.; last year to less than a fourth of that quantity.

There is nothing therefore in what may be called analogous history which countenances the notion that if America gives us less cotton we cannot enlarge our supplies from other countries. The conduct indeed of many of the planters themselves disproves the idea. The exertions which they have made from time to time to extend their "institution" to the free territories of the West, and thereby increase the production and keep down the price of food, and the attempts made to revive "free trade" with Africa, are evidences of this. They know that dear food and dear labour mean dear cotton; that dear cotton means increased production of the fibre in other countries, and that

increased production in other countries means the downfall of American monopoly.

SECTION 5. *Will Slavery be more secure by Dissolution?*

It is the failure to give a pro-slavery policy to the acts of the Federal Government which has caused the cotton States to renounce their allegiance to the Union. They perceive that there are poor hopes of their peculiar institution spreading itself beyond its present limits so long as the free States have a voice in the matter, and they imagine that withdrawal from the Confederation is the only way to preserve their labour system and insure future extension.

Now the questions present themselves—would slavery be safer out of the Union than in it? Would the South be strengthened by secession? We think not, for the following reasons.

In the first place, the security of the slave-owners' "property" would be considerably lessened. There would be no fugitive slave law acknowledged by the North. The "underground railroad," now only a secret association supported by a few anti-slavery enthusiasts, in defiance of Federal law, would become a national institution, and the "passengers," now numbered by units, would be counted by thousands. This would breed ill-feeling between the two confederacies; the probable result would be war, and the certain effects defeat of the South, and a further negro "stampede."

Secondly, should secession take place, the geographical

extent of the two sections would be pretty nearly equal. The free States, hemmed in by Canada on the North and the slave Confederacy on the South, would have no room for expansion, and should the Southern Confederacy attempt to extend its empire the movement would be opposed by its neighbour. The Governments of England and France endeavoured to introduce the doctrine of the "balance of power" into American politics when Texas was annexed in 1846, but failed; now, however, the retention of the balance would be a constant theme of debate, if not of strife. The sickly Republics of Central America would be protected by England and France, and Cuba would be lost for ever to the South.

Thirdly, the labour supply of the cotton planters would be curtailed not only by rapid "emigration" North, but by decreased production in the South; for there is every reason to believe that though the border States might at first favour the South, yet the time would shortly come when the free citizens would sweep the black code from their statute books, and join themselves to the North. Slavery for agricultural purposes is already unprofitable in these States, and the system is only retained by the influence of a powerful oligarchy of slave-breeders, who reap a lucrative revenue from their infamous traffic with the cotton States. The climate of the frontier States is essentially different from that of the cotton States. The principal products are wheat, Indian corn and tobacco, and the two former are largely, the first almost solely, cultivated by free white labour. The following table shows the gradual reduction which has taken place in the proportional

number of slaves to the free population in the States named, the last ten years :—

PER CENT. OF SLAVES TO TOTAL POPULATION.

STATES.	1860.	1850.
Delaware	1·3	2·5
Maryland	5·1	15·5
Kentucky	19·7	21·4
Missouri	9·6	12·8
Virginia	31·1	33·2

It is not improbable therefore that we may, before long, hear of an emancipatory scheme being adopted in some or all of the above States; indeed, the subject has already been broached. The Washington correspondent of the *New York Herald*, in his despatches of the 13th and 22nd January, 1861, drew attention to a project on foot for purchasing all the slaves of Delaware, Maryland, and Missouri for $91,000,000. The suggestion originated in Maryland, and was favourably discussed by Republicans, who, though they were opposed to recognizing property in man, yet seemed willing to yield that point.

Should any of the border States side with the North, the "nigger" consumers of the cotton States would in self-defence, undoubtedly, endeavour to reopen intercourse with Africa, and thus a new cause of trouble would be started, and the South would receive a wholesome lesson in civilized morality, in the shape of a thorough castigation. It would bluster, and threaten, and fume; but its paroxysms would only add to its

own suffering; it would sink into almost unfathomable debt, and lose the sympathy of all Christendom—except as a repentant.

Thus the South has everything to lose and nothing to gain by secession; but everything to gain and nothing to lose by remaining in the Union.

Section 6. *What of Peaceful Secession?*

But suppose that it were possible for the two sections to peaceably separate, and to inaugurate a system of reciprocal treaties, which some think could be done—what then? Where would be the gain? The South would be free from the dread of Northern interference with its peculiar institution—true. But, is it not so now? Does not the Constitution prohibit the meddling of Congress with the internal affairs of the States? What guarantees would slavery out of the Union have which it has not already got in the Union? "Can aliens," asks President Lincoln, "make treaties easier than friends can make laws? Can treaties be more faithfully enforced between aliens than laws can amongst friends?" Why then break up the "noble Republic," the "grand experiment of self-government?" Why sink the Union, which has been the marvel of the 19th century, the hope of freedom, the dread of despots, and bring forth two rival Confederacies, perhaps more—for the principle of rightful secession once conceded we might have five, ten, twenty, or even thirty petty governments—for the sake of a myth? Why compel the people to support two governments instead of one? Two armies instead of one? Two navies instead of one? Two

corps diplomatique instead of one? Especially as the rivalry which would undoubtedly exist between the two governments would necessitate that each hold an army and navy considerably larger than those of the old Union. Well might Mr. Lincoln ask:—

"Before entering upon so grave a matter as the destruction of our national fabric, with all its benefits, its memories and its hopes, would it not be well to ascertain why we do it? Will you hazard so desperate a step while there is any portion of the ills you fly from that have no real existence? Will you, while the certain ills you fly to are greater than all the real ones you fly from? Will you risk the commission of so fearful a mistake? All profess to be content in the Union if all constitutional rights can be maintained. Is it true, then, that any right, plainly written in the Constitution, has been denied? I think not. Happily the human mind is so constituted that no party can reach to the audacity of doing this. Think, if you can, of a single instance in which a plainly written provision of the Constitution has ever been denied. If, by the mere force of numbers, a majority should deprive a minority of any clearly written Constitutional right, it might, in a moral point of view, justify revolution: certainly would, if such right were a vital one. But such is not the case." *

Section 7. *Financial Obstructions.*

Then comes the little matter of money. If the seven cotton States decide upon refusing all overtures, how are they to support their dignity? This question of the sinews of war has always been a sore trouble to revolutionists. Already not a few of the citizens of the seceded States are very much discontented with the new order of things. *Talking* about what they could, or would do, as to ways and means, was very harmless and very *cheap*, but the *doing* is what they did not seem to contemplate. Soon after the passage of the secession

* *Inaugural Address*, delivered March 4th, 1861.

ordinance by South Carolina, the Convention set to work to raise a revenue, and a correspondent of the *New York Herald*, writing from Washington on the 20th January, remarks that:—

"Slave-holders, who formerly had to pay a tax of seventy-five cents on each of their slaves, are now taxed sixteen dollars on each. It was in this way that ex-Governor Aiken was taxed fifty thousand dollars, which he informed the authorities he could not pay, because he had not the money. The reply to this excuse was that he could sell his niggers; and it is reported that he sold part to pay the tax, and moved most of the others to Virginia, and left for Europe himself. Another statement is that two booksellers were taxed one thousand dollars each. They refused to pay. The reply was: 'Your books are worth the money.' 'They are worth a great deal more,' responded the dealers. They packed up their stock and left Charleston, passing here a day or two since, *en route* North."

Another of the "discontented," Judge Robert Lyon of Abbeville Court House, South Carolina, wrote the following letter to a friend in Texas:—

"*Abbeville Court House, Thursday, Jan.* 24, 1861.

"DEAR SIR,—I desire you to procure for me, and send by mail, a Texas almanac. Six months since I felt perfectly willing to remain in South Carolina; but I can remain here no longer. At the election of Lincoln we all felt that we must resist. In this move I placed myself amongst the foremost, and am yet determined to resist him to the bitter end. I had my misgivings, at first, of the idea of separate secession, but thought it would be but for a short time, and at small cost. In this manner, together with thousands of other Carolinians, we have been mistaken. Everything is in the wildest commotion. My bottom land on Long Cane, for which I could have gotten thirty dollars per acre, I now cannot sell at any price. All our young men, nearly, are in and around Charleston. Thither we have sent many hundreds of our negroes (I have sent twenty) to work. Crops were very short last year, and it does now seem that nothing will be planted this coming season. All are excited to the highest pitch, and not a thought of the future is taken. Messengers are running here and there, with and without the governor's orders. We have no money. A forced tax is levied upon every man. I have furnished the last surplus dollar I have. I had about 27,000 dollars in the bank. At first I gave a cheque for 10,000, then 5,000, then the remainder. It is now estimated that we are spending 25,000 dollars per day, and no prospect of getting over these times. It was our full

understanding, when we went out of the Union, that we would have a new government of all the Southern States. Our object was to bring about a collision with the authorities at Washington, which all thought would make all join us. Although we have sought such collision in every way, we have not yet got a fight, and the prospect is very distant. I want the almanac in order to see from it what part of Texas may suit me. I want to raise cotton principally, but must raise corn to do me. I cannot live here, and must get away. Many are leaving now; at least 10,000 negroes have left already, and before long one-third of the wealth of South Carolina will be in the West. I desire you to look around and help me to get a home. As ever yours,

"ROBERT LYON."

So much for "direct taxation"—the favourite theory of the South.

The "Southern Confederacy," appreciating the difficulties of the case, have resolved upon obtaining the Federal revenue by indirect means. The *Times* New York correspondent, in his letter of the 27th February, sums up very briefly the financial difficulties of the new Confederacy:—

"Two or three months since I indicated what I thought, with good reason, would be regarded by them as one of their principal sources of revenue—an export duty on cotton. I see that the measure is already brought forward, but the more it is considered the more objectionable it becomes. Independently of any other reasons, the difficulty in collecting it would be reason enough for abandoning it. It would require a strong custom-house force on the line of every railway leading into the United States, as well as at every port. Suppose it to be abandoned, and an import duty to be relied on. This is open to the same objection—the difficulty of collection along such a line of inland frontier, and to the further objection that South Carolina secedes expressly because she desires complete free trade. Suppose that they resort to a direct tax—the favourite theory of the South. This is an expensive and difficult way of collecting a revenue in a country so sparsely settled as these States. That is a reason why the Government should avoid it. But for the people there is a still stronger reason—the absolute inability to pay such taxes. Though rich in cotton those States are not rich in coin. The representative of values naturally seeks the channels of commerce where it is most wanted. There is not coin enough in all those States for the operations of the Government, let alone the business of the people. If it be said that these difficulties are temporary, and that a loan will

meet them, capitalists will ask what security is offered by a Confederacy one-third of which is composed of the repudiating States of Florida and Mississippi? Lastly, can these States get along without money? With a long inland frontier to protect from invasion without and from the escape of slaves within, a long sea-coast to defend in war and light in peace, and an army of ambassadors, governors, senators, and other public functionaries to be taken care of, I think not, no matter how peacefully disposed the United States are. And if the free States and the border slave States can agree to live together the other States must eventually return to their allegiance. But the feeling at this time, so far as I can learn it through the public debates, the newspapers, and the multitude of private letters which have been shown to me, is decidedly adverse to a return to the Stars and Stripes."

PART III.

A COMPARATIVE VIEW OF THE INFLUENCE OF FREE AND SLAVE INSTITUTIONS IN PROMOTING OR RETARDING THE GENERAL PROGRESS OF THE TWO SECTIONS OF THE COUNTRY, AS EXEMPLIFIED IN THE PRESENT CONDITION OF THE NORTHERN AND SOUTHERN STATES.

PART. III.

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CHAPTER I.

Population and Territory.

The first census of the United States was taken in 1790, the last in 1860. The following were the geographical extent and population of the thirteen original Provinces, in each of the two years, distinguishing the figures of those States which either had adopted, or ultimately did adopt, free Constitutions from those which retained the slave system:—

FREE STATES.	Area in square miles.	Population.	
		1790.	1860.
New York	46,000	340,120	3,851,563
Massachusetts ..	7,800	378,717	1,231,494
New Hampshire ..	9,280	141,899	326,072
New Jersey	8,320	184,139	676,034
Connecticut	4,674	238,141	460,670
Rhode Island	1,306	69,110	174,621
Pennsylvania	47,000	434,373	2,916,018
Total ..	124,380	1,786,499	9,636,472
Increase in population in 70 years			7,849,973
Increase per cent. ditto			439

SLAVE STATES.	Area in square miles.	Population.	
		1790.	1860.
Virginia	61,352	748,308	1,593,199
Delaware	2,120	59,098	112,353
Maryland	11,124	319,728	731,565
North Carolina ..	50,704	393,751	1,008,342
South Carolina ..	29,385	249,073	715,371
Georgia	58,000	82,548	1,082,736
Total ..	212,685	1,852,506	5,243,566

Increase in population in 70 years		3,391,060
Increase per cent. ditto		183
Balance *against* the Free States, 1790	Population	66,007
	Territory ..	88,305
Balance of population in *favour* of the Free States, 1860		4,392,906

Since the adoption of the Constitution, twenty-one new States have been admitted into the Union, twelve of which have allied themselves to the free States, and nine to the slave States, as follows:—

FREE STATES.	Year of admission.	Area in square miles.	Population, 1860.
Vermont	1791	10,212	315,827
Ohio	1802	39,964	2,377,917
Indiana	1816	33,809	1,350,802
Illinois	1818	55,405	1,691,233
Maine	1820	31,766	619,958
Michigan	1836	56,243	754,291
Iowa	1846	50,914	682,000
Wisconsin	1848	53,924	768,485
California	1850	155,980	384,770
Minnesota	1858	166,025	172,793
Oregon	1859	185,030	52,566
Kansas	1861	114,798	143,645
Total ..	..	954,070	9,314,287

SLAVE STATES.	Year of admission.	Area in square miles.	Population, 1860.
Kentucky	1782	37,680	1,145,567
Tennessee	1796	45,600	1,146,640
Louisiana	1811	41,255	666,431
Mississippi	1817	47,156	886,658
Alabama	1819	50,722	955,917
Missouri	1821	67,380	1,201,214
Arkansas	1836	52,198	440,775
Florida	1845	59,268	145,685
Texas	1846	237,504	600,956
Total ..	..	638,763	7,189,843

Balance in favour of the Free States { Territory .. 315,307 / Population .. 2,124,444

RECAPITULATION.

		Free States.		Slave States.	
		Area.	Population.	Area.	Population.
Area and population	1790	124,380	1,786,499	212,685	1,852,506
	1860	1,078,450	18,950,759	851,448	12,433,409
Increase—Total		954,070	17,164,260	638,763	10,580,903
Ditto per cent. ..		768	961	301	571

From the two first of the foregoing tables we gather, that at the commencement of the era of independence the slave States had the advantage of the free States both in the extent of their geographical area and the amount of their population; but that during the seventy years between 1790 and 1860 the free States have in respect of population left their companions far behind: the progress being 439 per cent. in the seven original free States, against only 183 per cent. in the six original slave States, notwithstanding the greater extent of territory possessed

by the latter. The average per centage of increase in both sections was 312. Had the progress of the South been equal to this average, the population of the six States named would have been, in 1860, 7,632,306 persons, instead of only 5,243,566. The loss to the South therefore down to 1860 amounted to 2,388,740 persons!

Turning to the second and third tables, we find that the free States have added 954,070 square miles to their territory, and 9,314,287 persons to their population; but the slave States only 638,763 square miles and 7,189,843 persons. Down to 1850 the South had the advantage in territorial possessions, for in that year their area exceeded that of the North by 394,831 square miles; but the rapid progress of Northern population has had the effect of entirely changing the relative positions of the two sections; so that in 1861 the possessions of the free States exceed those of the slave by 227,002 square miles.

The average increase in the population of the whole Union, exclusive of territories, from 1790 to 1860 was 754 per cent.; for the North 961 per cent.; and for the South 571 per cent. Had the Southern States progressed in the same ratio as the whole Union, their citizens in 1860 would have numbered 15,820,350 persons, instead of only 12,433,400, or 3,386,950 less. The actual increase of the free over the slave States was 6,583,357.

The effect of this has been a reduction, every decade, in the political power of the slave-holders. The following table shows the number of representatives which the two sections were entitled to send to the Lower House of Congress in 1776, 1821,

1841, and the number to which they have a right in the present year:—

	1776.	1821.	1841.	1861.
Free States	35	124	136	150
Slave States	30	92	91	84
Total ..	65	216	227	234

Thus, from close on one-half the total representation, the slave States have dwindled down to only a little over one-third. For a long period the South, spite of this retrogressive movement, succeeded, by means of clever party manœuvring, thorough organization, and unity of purpose, in sowing dissension in the ranks of its powerful rival, and so securing for itself almost uninterrupted possession of political power and patronage. Latterly, however, it became very apparent to the slave-holders that their influence in the National Council chambers was fast decreasing, whilst the numbers of their opponents were slowly but surely approaching the two-thirds majority, by means of which the anti-slavery element might accomplish the ultimate destruction of the Southern institution. It is the consciousness of this increasing power of the North which has caused the cotton States to seek the safety of their labour system by seceding from the Union. The more moderate of the slave-holders ask for new guarantees, in the shape of constitutional amendments, but the ultra-Southerners think that the Union is incompatible with slavery.

How much better it would be for them to go to the root of

their disease, and attack the *cause*, instead of applying abortive remedies to the *effects* of their national declension. That slavery is the cause there can be no doubt; the soil, climate, and general natural resources of the States south of the Potomac being infinitely superior to those north of that river.

The natural increase in the Southern *native* population has probably been as rapid as that of the Northern: the cause of the superior progress made by the latter is the fact that it has had almost the entire benefit of the immense and continuous European immigration. The South has long perceived this, and her representatives have often tried to limit the political privileges of aliens. In 1836, when the Bill for the admission of Michigan was under consideration in the Senate, Henry Clay moved that aliens should not be permitted to enjoy the right of suffrage; but the amendment was rejected by a vote of 22 against 14. A similar amendment made during the Kansas-Nebraska debates was passed on the 2nd March, 1854—Yeas 23, Nays 21; but the House of Representatives on the 22nd May, same year, rejected the Senate's decision by a vote of 115 against 96. Subsequently the Upper House agreed: there being only seven dissentients. These figures show the strength of the anti-alien element in the Congress. The fact that the free States, with few exceptions, favoured the immigrants, and the slave States, without any exception, voted against them, leave the motives of the North and South beyond doubt: the object of the one was to augment the political power of freedom, and the aim of the other to restrict that power. The number of immigrants

into the United States during the ten years ending 1855 was 2,523,758; equal to one-half the present population of the would-be Southern Confederacy. In speaking of this foreign element, slave-holders have never been particularly choice in their language. The Hon. A. H. H. Stuart of Virginia, in one of a series of letters under the *nom de plume* of "Madison," describes the immigrants as "the most ignorant of their countrymen—those who fly from starvation in their native land—whose highest aspiration is to satisfy the cravings of nature—who are ignorant of our laws, of our language, and of our institutions—and whose idea of liberty is comprehended in the licence to drink all the whisky they can get, and to indulge in the luxury of riots and the gratification of provincial animosities without hindrance from the officers of the law." Yet it is a fact that it is these immigrants who have built up the great States of the far west—the conservative power of the Union. It is not surprising, therefore, that the immigrants have mostly taken up their quarters where they may obtain a position free from the contaminating influence of slavery and its black code.

That immigration has been valuable to the Union no one but a slave-holding fanatic will deny. On this subject we quote the following from an admirable treatise on immigration, by Louis Schade of Washington, written four or five years ago:—

"If immigration had been cut off in 1790, our population in 1850 would have been about what it actually was in 1820. Immigration, then, has put us thirty years forward in this important element of national prosperity. Our increase in all the departments of national progress has been in the exact ratio of our increase in population. Whilst the latter has increased sixfold, our commercial exports have increased in the same period eightfold, and our imports threefold." "From 1840 to 1845 our imports increased 200 per cent., our exports 300 per cent., our

commercial fleet 100 per cent., and our revenues more than 300 per cent. Since 1840 immigration has been chiefly directed to this country. Compare, again, 1850 with 1855, and the blindest man will perceive that the sudden rise of wealth and power this country owes chiefly to immigration. But for the influence of immigration, the wonderful works of improvement, which have added so much to our national wealth and prosperity, could not have been accomplished. To this we are indebted, in an eminent degree, for the thousands of miles of railroad and canal communication which now cover our vast domain like a network, and furnish ready and profitable facilities for realizing the benefits of the productive energies and enterprise of every industrial pursuit. To this we are indebted for the reduction of the vast wilderness of the west and north-west to the dominion of civilization and industry, swelling the amount of our annual revenues, increasing to an almost limitless extent in commercial wealth, and placing us in the front rank of nations as an agricultural, manufacturing, and commercial people. To immigration we are indebted in no small degree for the rapid addition of State after State to the Confederacy, until we have spanned the continent with more than double our original number."

From this element of progress the South has been almost entirely debarred. The natural tendency of immigration is to spread itself over the country; but the tide is as effectually turned back from the slave States as if the margin of the free States was on the Gulf of Mexico.

In addition to this negative cause of Southern retardation there is the effect produced by the positive emigration from South to North. According to the census tables of 1850, there were 609,223 natives of the slave States residing in the North against only 205,924 natives of the free States residing in the South; showing a balance against the South of 403,299 persons! We are not without an explanation of this phenomenon. "Virginia," said Dr. Duffner in 1847, himself a slaveholder and a native of the "Old Dominion"—

"Virginia has sent—or rather, we should say, she has driven—from her soil at least one-third of all the immigrants who have gone from the old States to the new. More than another third have gone from the other old slave States. Many

of these multitudes who have left the slave States have shunned the region of slavery, and settled in the free countries of the west. These were generally industrious and enterprising white men, who found by sad experience that a country of slaves was not a country for them. It is a truth, a certain truth, that slavery drives free labourers, farmers, mechanics and all—and some of the best of them too—out of the country, and fills their places with negroes."

Professor Benjamin S. Hedrick, of North Carolina, who, as Mr. Helper tells us, was a few years ago "peremptorily dismissed from his post of analytical and agricultural chemist in the University of North Carolina, ignominiously subjected to the indignities of a mob, and then savagely driven beyond the borders of his native State," in a letter of vindication says:—

"Of my neighbours, friends, and kindred, nearly one-half have left the State since I was old enough to remember. Many is the time I have stood by the loaded emigrant waggon, and given the parting hand to those whose faces I was never to look upon again. They were going to seek homes in the free west, knowing as they did that free and slave labour could not both exist and prosper in the same community. If any one think that I speak without knowledge, let him refer to the last census. He will there find that in 1850 there were fifty-eight thousand native North Carolinians living in the free States of the west; nearly three thousand in Indiana alone. There were at the same time one hundred and eighty thousand Virginians living in the free States. Now if these people were so much in love with the 'institution,' why did they not remain where they could enjoy its blessings?"

The cause of this is the degradation of labour by its being associated with slavery. When any species of labour is once performed by slaves it is entirely deprived of that dignity which of right belongs to it; and so we find that in the Southern States the white man disdains to "work like a nigger;" labour of all kinds is "low and unfit for freemen;" and no matter how moral, or intelligent, or well-to-do in the world a man may be, he is accounted as nobody, in either social or political circles, unless he is the owner of a few negroes. This

accounts for the favour which the suggestion of a revival of the external slave-trade meets with the more ambitious of the poor whites, knowing, as they do, that a man's respectability, in the South, is estimated not so much by his moral conduct, or his possessions in dollars and cents, as in the North, but by the number of slaves he may hold. The most insignificant white man, therefore, will live in the most penurious style in order to save money for investment in the favourite "property;" whilst, should any one of known wealth abstain from patronizing the current labour system he will be closely watched, and if anything falls from his lips capable of being construed as adverse to the institution, he will receive a notice to gather up his chattels and quit.

Of course the slave-holders deny that their institution has anything to do with the slow progress of Southern population: their answer is that they are deprived of the aid of foreign immigrants by the action of Northern politicians. "You," say they to the free States, "have the benefit of an unlimited labour supply, suitable to your climate, whilst you won't allow us to obtain a similar supply for ourselves from the only country whose inhabitants are capable of standing the fatigue of out-door labour in our climate. It is a mere farce to tell us that we can have our share of the annual arrivals of Irish and German immigrants—the climate of our States is uncongenial to the European races, but is peculiarly adapted to the constitution of the negro."

This notion of the unhealthiness of the Southern climate is as current in England as it is in America; but, if we are to be-

lieve the testimony of travellers, and the facts obtained by the census, no opinion is more wide of the truth.

On the average of years the proportion of deaths to the number of persons living is positively more in the Northern than in the Southern States. For instance, the mortality in 1850 in the seven original free States was 1 in 68·66 persons living; but in the six original slave States only 1 in 78·30. The highest average in the old free States was 1 in 81·63 in Pennsylvania; the highest in the old slave States 1 in 91·93 in Georgia. In Florida and Texas, the most Southern of the slave States, the figures were 1 in 93·67 and 1 in 69·79 respectively; and in Maine and Massachusetts, the most Northern of the free States, 1 in 77·29 and 1 in 51·23 respectively. Taking the whole of the States existing in 1850, and leaving out those of Vermont and Wisconsin (1 in 100·13, and 1 in 105·82), the mortality was 1 in 71·54 in the North, and 1 in 71·82 in the South, the latter again having the advantage. The most unhealthy of the slave States is Louisiana—1 in 42·85; the most unhealthy of the free States, Massachusetts—1 in 51·23. In Charleston, South Carolina, Dr. Nott ascertained from personal observations and inquiries, extending over a period of six years, that the average mortality of the city was 1 in 51; and that whilst the deaths amongst the whites averaged only 1 in 58, those amongst the blacks averaged 1 in 44.

From the accounts which slave-holders give us of their climate we would suppose it impossible for the white man to occupy his time regularly in out-door manual labour, without certain injury to his constitution; yet we find, according to the

census tables, that in 1850, out of a white population of 6,184,477 persons of all ages and both sexes, there were 1,019,020 *males, over fifteen years of age, engaged in out-door labour in the slave States*—803,052 being employed in purely agricultural pursuits.

Mr. Darby, the surveyor and geographer of Louisiana, during his professional labours in Southern Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Texas, between the years 1805 and 1815, travelled no less than twenty thousand miles on foot through those States.

"During the whole of this period," he remarks, "I was not confined one month, put all my indispositions together, and not one moment by any malady attributable to climate. I have slept in the open air for weeks together in the hottest summer nights, and endured this mode of life in the most matted woods, perhaps, in the world. During my survey of the Sobine river, myself and the men that attended me existed for several weeks on flesh and fish, without bread or salt, and without sickness of any kind. That nine-tenths of the distempers of warm climates may be guarded against I do not harbour a single doubt."

Mr. Olmsted, in his "Journey in the Seaboard Slave States," whilst at New Orleans, made the acquaintance of an English mechanic, and during a conversation with him the mechanic remarked that :—

"White working men were rapidly displacing the slaves in all sorts of work, and he hoped and believed it would not be many years before every negro would be driven out of the town. He thought acclimated white men could do more hard work than negroes, even in the hottest weather, if they were temperate and avoided stimulating food. That, he said, was the general opinion of those who stayed over summer. Those who drank much whisky and cordials, and kept up old habits of eating, just as if they were in England, were the ones who complained most of the climate, and who thought that white men were not made to work in it. He had stayed as late as July and returned in September, and he never saw the day in which he could not do as much work as he did in London."*

* *Journey in the Seaboard Slave States*, pp. 586 and 589.

Dr. Barton, of New Orleans, in a paper read before the Academy of Science of that city, says :—

"The class of diseases most fatal to the South are mainly of a '*preventible*' nature, and embrace fevers and intestinal diseases, and depend mostly on conditions under the control of man, as drainage, the removal of forest growth, of personal exposure, and hygiene. The climate further north is too rigid the greater part of the year for personal exposure to the open air, so essential to the enjoyment of health; and when the extremes are great and rapid another class of maladies predominate—the pulmonary, as well as others arising from crowding, defective ventilation, and filth—exacting preventive measures from the public authorities with as much urgency as the worst fevers of the South."

Speaking of the cultivation of cotton, Mr. Olmsted remarks :—

"The more common and popular opinion is, that the necessary labour of cotton tillage is too severe for white men in the cotton-growing climate. As I have said before, I do not find the slightest weight of fact to sustain this opinion. The necessary labour and causes of fatigue and vital exhaustion attending any part or all of the process of cotton culture does not compare with that of our July harvesting; it is not greater than attends the cultivation of Indian corn in the usual New England method."*

Throughout the South the heavy work connected with the construction of railways, street paving, building, &c., is performed chiefly by white people. A railroad contractor in one of the best cotton districts told Mr. Olmsted that he had begun his work with negroes, but was substituting Irish and German labourers for them as rapidly as possible, with great advantage.†

We must make one more quotation and then go on to the next chapter. It shall be from Stirling's "Letters from the Slave States," published in 1857 :—

"It is said white men cannot labour in a tropical climate. But the Southern States are not a tropical region, neither is cotton a tropical product. It flourishes

* See Olmsted's *Journey in the Back Country*, pp. 343 and 349.
† *Ibid.*, p. 349.

only in the belt between the tropical and temperate zones. In that delightful climate white men work well and pleasantly. White men labour all the day long in Louisiana at the heaviest work. Nay, in Texas, the most southerly of the slave States, cotton is even now produced by free (German) labour; and better cotton, too, than any grown by slave labour. This cuckoo-cry of climate is a mere pretence, and is become a weariness to all men. The white race can labour anywhere. Free white men do labour in all climates; in Asia, South America, and burning Africa itself; why not in North America? The rice swamps? some one says. And what then? The whole rice production of the United States is only worth some 4,000,000 dollars per annum. *That* is not a consideration on which to base a national policy. As to sugar its days are already numbered. No nursing can prolong its sickly existence. The next 'amended tariff' will remove that stumbling-block from the path of American statesmanship."*

With respect to the rice culture of South Carolina, Mr. Olmsted is of opinion that its present unhealthiness might be considerably modified by the introduction of improved agricultural machinery; and then, as to labour, he deprecates the suggested revival of African imports, and remarks that a sufficient supply of good and free labour could be obtained from the rice regions of China.

* *Letters*, &c., pp. 308 and 309.

CHAPTER II.

The Social, Educational, and Religious Condition of the White Population.

One of the most cogent arguments against American slavery is that founded on the pernicious influence which the institution has, not only upon the actual victims, but also upon the white population in the midst of whom they live and by whom they are governed.

Slavery, like despotism, cannot long exist in the midst of a well or even moderately educated and enterprising community; but while ignorance rules the masses the governing class can maintain its position, monopolize the wealth of the country, and legislate for its own exclusive benefit. "If a man be robbed let him not know it and he is not robbed." It is the spread of knowledge which has destroyed the majority, and weakened the remainder, of the despotisms of Europe—annihilated the feudalism of the West, and abolished the serfdom of the East. As the various peoples have gradually emerged from the gloom of intellectual and spiritual darkness they have begun to realize their abject position, their grievances and their wrongs;

and, one by one, the various obstacles to their progress have been removed—not willingly and by the constituted government, but forcibly and by the people themselves. History is filled with illustrations of this. Progress has had to struggle against the same difficulties in all countries—despotism and ignorance, deception and superstition, authority and subjection. So long as all knowledge, and the means of obtaining knowledge, are confined to a privileged few, and that few interested in the maintenance of the constituted order of things, their dictates will be accepted as final by the uninstructed masses, whose reverence for knowledge and orthodoxy will demand implicit faith in the logic of their instructors; but with the popularizing of education, the introduction of a free press, and the consequent diffusion of information, the people will soon become acquainted with the difference between their real position, and their position by right; and they will not remain contented until the established order of things is disturbed. The great aim of all systems of government by might, therefore, is to see that the governed do not become too intelligent. The slaveholders of America have no need to trouble themselves in accomplishing this object, so far as their particular interest is concerned. The tendency of their "institution" is to bring about the desired result.

We have seen how slavery in the South operates in discouraging the immigration of foreigners, and promoting the emigration of natives. The most enterprising of the emigrants into the United States shun the slave States, and the most intelligent and industrious of the Southern non-slave-holding whites aban-

don the land of their birth and settle in the free States and territories of the North and North-west. The primary cause of this is the dishonourable position which slavery has given to the principal labour market of the South. From the fact of the soil being almost entirely cultivated by slaves, and these slaves the progeny of an inferior race of people, agricultural labour, and many of the ruder mechanical employments, are shunned by the white or superior race as occupations degrading to their caste. But the only portion of the white population which is capable of maintaining an independent position are the slave-holders, and those non-slave-holders engaged in professional or mercantile pursuits. Still the poor white citizens are compelled, from necessity, to engage in *some* species of labour. Many of them work on small plots of ground owned or rented by themselves, or occupy their limited means in carrying on some retail business, such as grocery and provision stores, grogeries, &c. Large numbers content themselves with lounging about the country, and subsisting on fishing and hunting, and the proceeds of odd jobs on plantations here and there. All of them are held in great contempt by the slave-holding class. The planters look upon their presence not only as extremely pernicious to slave discipline, but also, as Mr. Olmsted testifies—from the fact of their being idle most of their time, and when working, working only for their own benefit and without a master—as calculated to tempt the slaves to neglect their duty and to run away and live a similar life of vagabondage. "Hence, one of the acknowledged advantages of very large and isolated plantations; and hence, in fact, the

desire of every planter to get possession of the land of any poor non-slave-holding white."*

There is thus almost as great a social gulf between the planting interest and the poor whites, as exists between the slave-owner and his slave. Indeed, if anything, the plebeian has less sympathy shown him than the slave—both, from their low position, are perhaps equally despised by the Southern pseudo-aristocracy. It is this diversity of interest, this want of sympathy between the upper and lower classes, together with the poverty of the bulk of the people, and the sparseness of the population, which has rendered the introduction of a general system of education impossible. The "mean whites" thus mostly grow up in idleness and ignorance, and the mercantile, professional, and slave-owning interests, almost monopolize what means of education exist. These latter give the tone to Southern literature and learning :—

"All the institutions of learning of the higher class are filled with students who are, or soon expect to be, owners of slaves. I reside not far from Chapel Hill, the University of the State; and among the hundreds who have graduated from that College I scarcely know one who was not an advocate of slavery. During the late Presidential contest, one of the professors was dismissed for merely expressing a preference for the election of the Republican candidate. All the students are taught that slavery is of Divine origin, and that it is their duty as citizens, Christians, and patriots to defend and retain it. In the mean time the great mass of the poor whites go with but little schooling, and hence the great lack of mental activity among the larger portion of the population of North Carolina and of the South generally."†

Referring to the census tables for 1850, we find that 8·37 per

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* *A Journey in the Back Country*, pp. 449 and 450.

† See a letter from a North Carolinian, quoted in Helper's *Impending Crisis of the South*, p. 401. (Hundredth thousand, New York, 1860).

cent. of the native white population, and 9·09 per cent. of the foreign white population of the South over 20 years of age, were unable to read or write; against only 2·40 and 6·37 per cent. respectively, in the North. In Virginia the proportion was nearly 20 per cent., and in North Carolina over 25 per cent.! The number of schools in the free States was 62,433, or one for every 215 persons; but in the slave States only 18,507, or one for every 346 persons, exclusive of 3,200,000 slaves: the number of pupils in the former 2,769,901, but only 581,801 in the latter. The income of the public schools of the North was $6,780,337, and of the private academies $2,457,534; in the South the income of the former was $2,719,534, and of the latter $2,079,724. This inadequate provision for the education of the lower classes, who from their poverty are shut out from the "private" scholastic establishments, accounts for the low average educational condition of the Southern whites. The slave-holders provide well for the tuition of their own order, but care little for that of the class below them. Again, the number of newspapers and periodicals published in the North was 1,790, and their total annual circulation 334,146,281 copies; but in the South there were only 704 publications, with a circulation of only 81,038,693 copies. Leaving out the slaves, we find that the foregoing figures gave nearly 25 newspapers to each inhabitant (men, women, and children) of the North, but only about 12½ to each inhabitant of the South. Once more, the number of public libraries in the free States was 14,911; in the slave States 695! The number of volumes in the former 3,888,234, and in the latter 649,577.

It is not surprising, therefore, that the bulk of the people are so lethargic, unenterprising, and, as the Southerners themselves say, in their most expressive vernacular, "mean." Their condition has been described by a native of South Carolina as, if anything, more degenerate than the mixed races of Central America.* A writer in De Bow's "Resources of the South and West" remarked, that he had observed an evident deterioration was taking place in the character of the poor non-slave-holding whites: "the younger portion of it being less educated, less industrious, and, in every point of view, less respectable than their ancestors."† Governor Hammond, of South Carolina, has declared that of the three hundred thousand white inhabitants of his native State there were not less than fifty thousand whose industry was not adequate to procure them, honestly, such support as every white person is, and feels himself, entitled to. The Hon. J. H. Lumpkin, of Georgia, speaks of the poor whites as "degraded, half-fed, half-clothed, ignorant, and without any just appreciation of character."

This deplorable state of things has often formed a portion of the subjects talked of in gubernatorial State Messages. Some half-dozen years ago, Governor Seabrook of South Carolina remarked that education had been provided by the legislature but for the wealthy citizens; for the middle and poor classes nothing had been done; and Governor Adams, in 1855, urged the legislature to save the poor of the land from being hopelessly doomed to ignorance, poverty, and crime.

* See Olmsted's *Journey in the Seaboard Slave States*, p. 505.

† Art. *Domestic Manufactures of the South and West*, by Mr. Tarver.

But no really efficient system of education can be introduced under the present social régime. The indifference of the people alone will neutralize all the efforts of the reformers. What is wanted is regular, remunerative, and honourable employment. The poor whites, in their present position, do not feel the want of education: with them learning is of no value. They have no steady habits of industry, and, until they have, there will be no possibility of any improvement in their social condition. They are too proud, and rightly so, to work with the slave, but they do not object to employ themselves in occupations other than those engaged in by slaves. The evil is the lack of such occupations. It has been several times suggested that the introduction of a native manufacturing system would meet the difficulty, and there is no doubt that it would. But the slave-holders know well that such a proceeding would sap the foundation of their "institution." Their great aim is to prevent the concentration of the white inhabitants. They dread the effect which would be produced by the existence of large communities of intelligent freemen, such as exist in the North, and therefore Southern manufactures are discouraged. Such establishments, it is said, would become hotbeds of crime! It is plain however that the slaveocracy is wise in its generation. The first effect of such a new order of things would be to restrict the employment of slaves to callings purely agricultural—field labour. The white mechanics of all kinds would "strike" against the introduction of slave labour into their domain, and, from little to more, the end would be that all skilled labour, and all occupations connected with manufactures, building, &c., would be shut out from

slavery. In course of time, with the increase in the numbers and influence of the non-slave-holding citizens, the power of the slave-holders would be weakened, and ultimately the South would be ruled by the former instead of the latter, and, little by little, the slaves would become more and more intelligent, and the whites less and less pro-slavery, until the security of the "property" would be gone.

Thus far we have only alluded to the evil influence of slavery upon the social welfare of the non-slave-holding poor of the South, but the institution is no less pernicious in its moral effects upon the upper classes of society—the slave-holders themselves. Constantly associated with a depraved and irresponsible race of beings, whose mental powers are doomed to inactivity, whose finer feelings are blunted and destroyed, but whose grosser nature is brought out in all its repulsiveness, the children of the slave-holders cannot fail to be injuriously affected. Their young hearts rather invite than otherwise impressions of the immoral sayings and doings of their companions—their nurses and playmates. "Could we," said a writer in the *Southern Cultivator* of June, 1855:—

"Could we, in all cases, trace effects to their real causes, I doubt not but many young men and women, of respectable parentage and bright prospects, who have made shipwreck of all their earthly hopes, have been led to the fatal step by seeds of corruption which, in the days of childhood and youth, were sown in their hearts by the indelicate and lascivious manners and conversation of their fathers' negroes."

As the child grows in years it soon begins to imitate not only the loose morality of the slaves, but commences to assume the haughty mien of its parents. There is the miniature cowhide to

flog the rising generation of bondsmen, and the elder slaves are often "shown who is their master," and are frequently castigated either by or through the petulant and wilful prospective slave-holder. This schooling effect of the institution is indeed actually approved of by the aristocratic slave-holders, who like to see the "governing" faculties of the young Southerner fully developed. Professor Tucker, in his "Treatise on Political Economy," remarks:—

"The habit of command to which the master has been familiarized from his infancy peculiarly fits him for many of the higher duties of civilized life. He is thus likely to become better qualified for exercising authority, both in the army and navy, and even in the civil departments. It is, perhaps, thus that the Southern States have furnished more than their proportion of those who have held the higher offices of Government."

It is this also, the Professor ought to have added, which makes impatience, intolerance, and impetuousness, personal characteristics of Southern politicians; and which produces Sumner outrages, duels, and congressional scenes and mêlées.

"No one," says Stirling, "can study the social condition of the slave States of the South without being struck with the prevalence of bloody duels." * * * * "When Herr von Hinckeldey, the Prussian Minister of Police, was shot last year (1856) by a reckless young aristocrat, the whole of Europe rang with indignant denunciation; while here citizens murder each other, with double-barrelled guns, at the rate of some twelve per annum, and the fact is recorded as coolly as the arrival of a Cunard steam-ship, or the variation of a cent a pound in the price of cotton."*

"A gentleman of veracity, now (1860) residing in the South, told me (Mr. Olmsted) that among his friends he had once numbered two young men, who were themselves intimate friends, till one of them, taking offence at some foolish words uttered by the other, challenged him. A large crowd assembled to see the duel, which took place on a piece of prairie ground. The combatants came armed with rifles, and at the first interchange of shots the challenged man fell disabled

* *Letters from the Slave States*, pp. 266 and 269.

by a ball in the thigh. The other, throwing down his rifle, walked towards him, and kneeling by his side, drew a bowie-knife and deliberately butchered him. *The crowd of bystanders not only permitted this, but the execrable assassin still lives in the community, has since married, and, as far as my informant could judge, his social position has been rather advanced than otherwise, from thus dealing with his enemy.* In what other English—in what other civilized, or half-civilized community would such a cowardly atrocity have been endured?"*

Mr. Olmsted thus sums up the ruling characteristics of Southern breeding:—

"Every wish of the Southerner is, for the moment at least, more imperative than of the Northerner, every belief more undoubted, every hate more vengeful, every love more fiery. Hence, for instance, the scandalous fiend-like street fights of the South. If a young man feels offended at another he does not incline to a ring and a fair stand-up set-to, like a young Englishman; he will not attempt to overcome his opponent by logic; he will not be content to vituperate, or to cast ridicule upon him; he is impelled straightway to kill him with the readiest deadly weapon at hand, and with as little ceremony and pretence of fair combat as the loose organization of the people against violence will allow. He seems crazy for blood. Intensity of personal pride—pride in anything a man has, or which connects itself with him, is more commonly evident; hence intense partizanship; hence rashness and over-confidence; hence visionary ambition; hence assurance and violence in debate; hence assurance in society: no matter how ignorant, how out-of-place, self-assurance seldom fails—partizan assurance never."†

And this must ever be the condition of a society where the basest features of human nature have no check, but, on the contrary, are urged into full and fiendish development—so long as the first principles of humanity are daily violated by the man floggings and woman beatings, the libertinism and other villainies of the slave system of the South.

Can we be astonished that in the midst of such a community the spirit and principles of Christianity, the nominal religion of the nation, are virtually set aside, and the precepts of an in-

* *A Journey in the Back Country*, pp. 118 and 119 (Note).
† *Ibid.*, pp. 414 and 415.

ferior and abrogated code of ethics adopted as a standard of conduct? The Bible as a whole, if honestly interpreted, is an anti-slavery book; and though there are certain passages contained in the Old Testament which *permitted* slavery in a semi-civilized age, there are *none* which recommend the institution to the adoption of the people; whilst, should there be any capable of such a construction, they are clearly nullified, so far as Christians are concerned, by the doctrines enunciated in the New Testament. True, our Saviour did not denounce the institution by name, for probably he was never brought into direct contact with it; but it is unquestionable that the existence of practical Christianity is impossible where slavery exists. This to our minds is clear, not only from the effects of the necessary accompaniments of the system, but chiefly from the fact that in all countries where the Christian religion has obtained a secure footing, slavery has been, or is being, gradually abolished. The slave-holders are themselves fully aware of this tendency of Christianity towards universal freedom; they know that all Christendom abhors their institution, and they are vainly attempting to show that the Bible and slavery are not antagonistic. But the two sytems cannot exist long together in the one nation; either the one or the other must give way—and we know which!

Prior to the introduction of Christianity, slavery was, more or less, an universal institution, was legal, and no existing system of theology or ethics was hostile to it. A man might, with certain restrictions, make the flesh and blood of his fellow-beings the subject of barter, and still not offend against any written or conventional law of religion or morality. Hebrew slavery was

probably the mildest form of bondage which existed, yet, such as it was, it was altogether different from American slavery. The negro is a slave for life; the maximum bondage of a Hebrew captive was fifty years, for the year of Jubilee brought universal freedom. In America emancipation is forbidden, but the Hebrew slave could be redeemed. The negro cannot possess property in his own right, but the Israelitish slave could: the latter, socially and religiously, was treated far better than the former. Man-stealing, under the theocracy, was expressly prohibited, and yet a large party of professing Christians in America are agitating for a revival of the African slave trade—the most execrable of all man-stealing. Have our Southern friends ever read 1 Tim., Chapter I. ver. 9 and 10? If not, they had better do so, and they will see in what questionable company St. Paul places them.

Under the Hebrew commonwealth there were other things permitted, as well as slavery, equally revolting to the religion of Christ; such, for instance, as polygamy, and the barbarous modes of carrying on warfare against an enemy—the wholesale extermination of men, women, and children. These were the fruits of the imperfect civilization of the time, or the results, as our Saviour tells us, of the "hardness of the people's hearts." But when humanity was prepared for a change, after a rough schooling of some two thousand years, Judaism was supplanted by Christianity, and the slave-holders of America have now no more right to quote Hebrew domestic usages in justification of modern negro slavery than polygamists have to quote Solomon and his thousand wives, or modern warriors would have to ex-

terminate a conquered people, simply because Joshua annihilated the Canaanites. The Jewish theocracy was the form of government best adapted to the rude condition of society, and to the limited capacities of the people. It was an educative system, rudimentary and preparatory to something better, and was entirely abrogated by the introduction of Christianity. Under the old régime the Creator was worshipped in *form* amidst the pomp of an imposing external ritual; but under the new, in *spirit and in truth.* The ruling principle of intercommunication between nations and individuals was, an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth; but now every man is to love his neighbour as himself, and all men are to do unto others as they would they should do unto them. If, in either of these two golden rules, without which Christianity would be lifeless, the slave-holders can find a sanction for man-stealing, slave-dealing, or slave-breeding, we will give up the controversy.

Facts show the religious condition of the South to be very destitute compared with the state of the North. The ministers are badly paid, their average education is very low, and their numbers are altogether inadequate to the requirements of the people; and all this notwithstanding the large missionary aid which they receive from the free States. The value of church property in the slave States, in 1850, was $21,674,581; in the free States $67,773,477. The single State of New York nearly equalled the whole South, viz., $21,539,561. In the same year the Northern States contributed $715,620 for the Bible cause; but the Southern only $163,390: New York alone exceeding the whole South by upwards of $100,000. For the tract

cause there was contributed $129,590 by the free States; but only $39,103 by the slave States. The contributions for missions in general reached $668,123 in the North, but only $6,924! in the South; for home missions, $197,630 in the former, but only $270! in the latter. For the Sunday-school cause, $61,175 were given by the free States, and $9,207 by the slave. Such are the fruits of Southern religion. "Do men gather grapes of thorns, or figs of thistles?"

CHAPTER III.

INDUSTRIAL PROGRESS.—STATISTICS OF COMMERCE; NAVIGATION, INLAND AND OCEANIC; AGRICULTURE AND MANUFACTURES.

IN no respect is the superiority of free over slave institutions so marked as in the facts exhibited by the official tables of the trade and commerce of the two sections of the American Union. As might be expected from a people whose labouring population are slaves, having no interest whatever in the welfare of the country; and the greater part of whose free population are poor, ignorant, unambitious, and entirely under the control of the slave-holders, who, by monopolizing the capital of the country, filling the offices of State from amongst their own ranks, and legislating for their own exclusive benefit, do all in their power to keep the non-slave-holding freemen poor and dependent, and so prevent their rise into wealth and political importance, to the danger of the "institution,"—as might be expected from a people so situated, the character and extent of their industry are very inferior to those of the free and enterprising citizens of the truly Republican North.

The following table exhibits the extent of the import and

export trade of the free and slave States during the years 1828, 1841, 1854, and 1859 :—

FREE STATES.

	Imports.	Exports.	Total.
	Dollars.	Dollars.	Dollars.
1828	74,038,543	40,484,067	114,522,610
1841	108,088,736	52,938,198	161,026,934
1854	278,669,994	161,795,730	440,465,724
1859	305,807,716	168,718,424	474,526,140

SLAVE STATES.

	Imports.	Exports.	Total.
	Dollars.	Dollars.	Dollars.
1828	14,471,271	31,780,519	46,251,790
1841	19,857,441	68,913,604	88,771,045
1854	25,892,389	114,000,590	139,892,979
1859	32,955,281	187,626,686	220,581,967

Thus, it will be perceived that, the *import* trade of the free States has always been, in value, something like half as much again as the joint imports and exports of the slave States. The large export trade of the South is owing entirely to the accident of cotton, and should the slave States lose the monopoly of that culture they would cut just as poor a figure in respect of exports as they do now of imports.

The following table shows the proportion which cotton bore to the total exports of the South in the years above named :—

EXPORTS FROM THE SLAVE STATES.

	Cotton.	Tobacco.	Other Articles.	Total.
	Dollars.	Dollars.	Dollars.	Dollars.
1828	22,487,229	5,269,960	4,023,330	31,780,519
1841	54,330,341	12,576,703	2,006,560	68,913,604
1854	93,596,220	10,016,046	10,388,324	114,000,590
1859	161,434,923	21,074,038	5,117,725	187,626,686

Cotton *is* king, but who are his subjects? Pro-slavery orators would have us believe that the whole civilized world depends for its existence upon Southern cotton; and they talk of bringing abolition England to her senses by cutting off the supply of the staple. We grant that the loss of the American crop would be attended with serious consequences to "Manchester;" but what would become of the South? The effect, so far as Great Britain would be concerned, would only be temporary, and would soon be remedied by increased supplies from other quarters; but the effect in America would be permanent—the trade once lost could never again be brought to its present influential position. It is clear that the production and sale of cotton by the Southern States is more essential to their well-being than the consumption of it is to England: to the planters cotton is money, and under slavery they could produce no other commodity, raw or manufactured, which would be in equal demand in foreign countries. *Under freedom* they might be able to consume their own cotton, and so enter into competition with England and the Continent for the custom of the world. Slavery exists on cotton, and could not exist on any-

thing else, and cotton is dependent on the outer world; but the outer world, though much indebted to cotton in general, is not absolutely dependent on American cotton in particular.

If we divide the joint import and export figures, as given above, by the population of the two sections, we will find the trade of the North to be $25·04 per head, but of the South only $17·73 per head; but to do full justice to the South we must add the amount of the intersectional trade, viz., about $200,000,000, imports and exports together: the figures would then stand thus:—

IMPORTS AND EXPORTS, 1859.

Free States.		Slave States.	
Amount.	Per Capita.	Amount.	Per Capita.
Dollars.	Dollars.	Dollars.	Dollars.
674,526,140	35·60	420,581,967	33·82

The difference against the South then was $22,037,393; for had her population been as enterprising and as industrious as the people of the North, her total imports and exports in 1859 would have been $442,629,360, instead of $420,581,967.

We will now compare the results of the entire industry of the free and slave States in 1850, the last year for which we have the complete figures, the census tables of 1860 not being yet published:—

VALUE OF AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS, 1850.

ARTICLES.	FREE STATES.	SLAVE STATES.
	Dollars.	Dollars.
Wheat	72,319,491	27,903,426
Rye	6,919,403	884,532
Oats	29,009,701	14,964,892
Barley	5,576,277	113,335
Indian corn	121,367,588	174,496,135
Potatoes (Irish and sweet)	24,289,553	21,659,924
Buckwheat	6,669,482	316,171
Hay	88,855,627	7,964,448
Hops	1,212,117	11,823
Clover and grass seeds	2,758,202	420,276
Beans and peas	968,953	4,773,144
Garden products	3,780,832	1,377,260
Orchard products	6,374,757	1,365,927
Wine	349,358	88,504
Cords of wood	12,767,597	7,232,403
Flax seed	538,384	305,076
Flax	294,823	476,021
Hemp	29,793	5,217,246
Maple sugar	1,608,240	104,284
Cane ditto	.. ..	12,378,850
Molasses	110,187	2,429,149
Cotton	.. ..	98,603,155
Rice	.. ..	4,000,000
Tobacco	1,032,667	12,949,398
Residuum of crops: corn-fodder, straw, seeds, cotton, manure, &c., and value of small crops such as carrots, onions, &c., and orchard, garden, and animal products of cities and towns	73,725,718	46,274,282
Total	460,558,750	446,309,661

VALUE OF ANIMAL PRODUCTS, 1850.

Articles.	Free States.	Slave States.
	Dollars.	Dollars.
Wool	11,895,554	3,837,966
Silk cocoons	2,734	2,687
Butter	39,372,933	10,759,959
Cheese	5,203,879	62,225
Bees'-wax and honey	1,102,242	1,274,365
Eggs	2,453,422	2,704,073
Feathers	918,371	1,081,629
Milk	5,630,745	1,369,255
Annual increase of live stock	92,750,598	82,249,402
Slaughtered animals	56,990,247	54,386,377
Total	216,320,725	157,727,938

VALUE OF MANUFACTURED PRODUCTS, 1850.

	Free States.	Slave States.
	Dollars.	Dollars.
All kinds	845,872,665	167,906,035

VALUE OF ENTIRE PRODUCTS, 1850.

	Total.	Per Capita.
	Dollars.	Dollars.
Free States	1,522,752,140	113·09
Slave States	771,943,634	80·30
Balance in favour of the Free States	750,808,506	32·79

Thus, on the average, each individual in the slave States produces more than one-fourth less than each inhabitant of the free

States, and that notwithstanding the manifest superiority of the Southern soil and climate. The deficiency of the South, at $32·79 per head, amounts to $315,207,286! or more than three times the value of the cotton crop!

Referring to the figures relating to navigation, oceanic and inland, we find that Northern ship-owners and ship-builders almost monopolize the former. Thus, in 1859, the shipping belonging to the free States amounted to 4,185,855 tons measurement, against only 958,957 tons possessed by the slave States. In 1856 there were 423,856 tons of shipping built in the North, but only 45,537 tons in the South; in 1858, 198,385 tons in the former, and 43,902 tons in the latter.

Railways, canals, and river navigation, are necessary agents in the proper development of the natural resources of a country, and in giving a healthy impetus to manufactures and commerce; besides which their construction and maintenance gives permanent employment to a large number of officials and labourers. The free States appreciate the utility of these agencies, and accordingly we find that in 1859 they had 19,657 miles of railways and 4,120 miles of canals, whilst the slave States possessed only 9,729 miles of railways and 1,053 miles of canals! We are not astonished, therefore, to find that in 1859 the cost of transporting Southern mails was $3,910,808 more than the receipts, whilst in the North the deficiency was only $566,813, or, leaving out California, viz., $665,193, a positive surplus of $98,380.

"Money makes the mare to go," says the proverb; and it is the poverty of the slave States which is the cause of the slow pro-

gress of the Southern nag. In 1850 the value of the real and personal property of the North was $4,102,162,098; but of the South only $2,936,090,736, *inclusive* of $1,600,000,000 invested in negroes: leaving out the latter amount the wealth of the Southerners was only $1,336,090,737. The citizens of New York were worth $1,080,309,216, or only $255,781,521 less than the wealth of the entire South, exclusive of slaves!

In the same year the revenue of the free States was $18,725,211, and their expenditure $17,078,733; but of the slave States only $8,343,715, and $7,549,933 respectively! The revenue of Pennsylvania alone was $7,716,552, and its expenditure $6,876,480.

The greater part of the small annual surplus cash of the slave-holders is sunk in negroes, and there remains but little for employment in other investments. Hence we find that whilst the free States employed $430,240,051 in carrying on various species of manufactures, the slave States had only $95,029,879 so engaged, of which more than one-third fell to the share of Virginia and Maryland! Of the three free States, New York, Pennsylvania, and Massachusetts, the first exceeded the whole of the Southern States, and the two last closely approached thereto: the figures being $99,904,405, $94,473,810, and $83,357,642 respectively.

The cost of the railroads formed down to 1859 was $878,078,865 in the North, but only $339,463,065 in the South; of the latter a good portion was defrayed by Northern capital, whilst the engines, cars, and mechanics employed, were mostly from the free States. The cost of the railways in New York

and Pennsylvania alone was $286,586,882, or only $52,876,183 less than the entire of slavedom.

We have already spoken of the scanty provision made for the education, religious and secular, of the Southern people, so the reader will be fully prepared for the following figures: value of church property in the free States $67,773,477, in the slave States $21,674,581; being $3·57 per head in the former, and $1·74 per head in the latter: annual income of public schools—in the one $6,780,337, and in the other $2,719,534, or $0·35 per head in the North, but only $0·32 per head in the South, *exclusive* of 3,945,000 *slaves*, since the Southerners do not profess to educate *them*. The value of the church property in the single State of New York was only $135,020 short of the entire South.

Southerners are often boasting of their assumed agricultural superiority over the North; but what do they think of the following statistics?—

CASH VALUE OF FARMS, FARMING IMPLEMENTS, AND MACHINERY, 1850.

	Dollars.
Free States	2,233,054,619
Slave States	1,184,765,954
Balance against the Slave States ..	1,048,288,665

"Comparisons are odorous," as Mrs. Malaprop says. We shall have a word or two further, on this agricultural question, in the next chapter.

There is one more branch of the subject to notice before closing the present chapter, viz., the comparative moneyed facilities of the two sections. The last complete returns we have at hand are dated January 1st, 1857; but they are sufficiently recent for our purpose, and we glean the following tables therefrom :—

FREE STATES.	Number of Banks.	Capital.	Loans and Discounts.
		Dollars.	Dollars.
Maine	76	8,135,735	13,277,620
New Hampshire	49	4,831,000	8,846,421
Vermont	41	3,856,946	7,302,951
Massachusetts	172	58,598,800	101,132,792
Rhode Island	98	20,275,899	28,679,343
Connecticut	71	18,913,372	28,511,149
New York	311	96,381,301	205,892,499
New Jersey	46	6,582,770	13,380,085
Pennsylvania	71	23,609,344	52,287,234
Illinois	42	5,872,144	4,740,671
Indiana	46	4,123,089	7,039,691
Ohio	61	6,742,421	15,223,241
Michigan	4	841,489	1,903,603
Wisconsin	49	2,955,000	5,280,634
Nebraska Territory	4	205,000	418,097
Total	1141	261,924,310	493,916,031
SLAVE STATES.			
Delaware	11	1,428,185	3,021,378
Maryland	31	12,297,276	22,293,554
Virginia	57	13,863,000	24,899,575
North Carolina	28	6,425,250	12,636,521
South Carolina	20	14,837,642	28,227,370
Georgia	23	15,428,690	16,649,201
Alabama	4	2,297,800	6,545,209
Mississippi	1	336,000	657,020
Louisiana	19	21,730,400	31,200,296
Tennessee	40	8,454,423	16,893,390
Kentucky	35	10,596,305	23,404,551
Missouri	6	1,215,405	4,112,791
Total	275	108,910,376	190,540,856

The foregoing table exhibits the poverty and dependence of the South in a most striking manner. It would be absurd to suppose that the small capital possessed by Southern banks is sufficient of itself to carry on the commercial transactions and public works of the slave States. The deficiency is made up by loans from Northern bankers.*

A Bank statement for the year 1860 will be found in the Appendix.

CHAPTER IV.

FREE *v.* SLAVE AGRICULTURE.

THE facts given in the previous chapter leave no doubt on the mind as to the superior industry which the people of the North bring to bear upon the natural resources of their share of the United States territory, when compared with the labour results of the South, thus proving that, of the two economies, freedom is the more profitable to all concerned.

The slave States have never pretended to compete with, or even at all approach, the *manufacturing* system of the free States. They pride themselves on being an *agricultural* community; and though some express a desire to extend their manufactures, the wish is by no means general. They rely upon the money power of their cotton crop for their clothing and machinery, knowing that in exchange for that commodity, they can at all times obtain such manufactured articles as they may require, from either the North or Europe.

Looking at the total value of the agricultural products of the North and South, the comparison, at first sight, taking into consideration the lesser population of the latter, does not seem unfavourable to slavery. The Hon. J. N. Sandige of Louisiana, in a speech delivered in the House of Representatives on the

30th. of March, 1858, endeavoured to show that the *per capita* agricultural produce of the South exceeded that of the North by $13·30, thus:—

		Dollars.
Total value of agricultural products	United States	1,164,457,783
	North	603,775,018
	South	560,682,765

	Population.	Average production per head. Dollars.
United States ..	23,191,876	50·20
North	13,527,220	44·70
South	9,664,656	58·00

These figures ignore altogether the wide difference between the character of Northern and Southern industry. Mr. Sandige assumes that agriculture is the chief occupation of the people of *both* sections, whereas such is the case only in the South: the value of the manufactured products of the North being considerably greater than that of agriculture. The true method would have been to have divided the agricultural products, not by the *total* population, but by that portion of it engaged in farming and planting pursuits. Of course it is impossible to ascertain the exact number so employed in each section, but still a sufficiently close approximation can be had.

The total number of free white males, over fifteen years of age, returned as following some employment, in 1850, was, for the Union, 7,772,459; for the free States 5,371,876; and for the slave States 2,400,583. Out of these 3,706,775 figured under the head "Agriculture," of which 2,509,126 lived in the North, and 1,197,649 in the South. But in addition to the

latter there were the 3,200,304 slaves almost wholly employed or dependent on planting or farming work. Taking these figures as the basis of calculation, and assuming seven-eighths only of the slaves to be engaged in agricultural employments, we arrive at the following result:—

	Free States.	Slave States.
Total number returned as employed	5,371,876	2,400,583
Engaged in agriculture .. { Number ..	2,509,126	1,197,649
Engaged in agriculture .. { Per cent...	44¾	50
Total free population	13,527,220	6,464,352
Proportion dependent upon agriculture ..	6,053,414	3,232,176
Add seven-eighths of slaves in South.. ..	.. ..	2,800,266
Total number of individuals engaged in agricultural pursuits	6,053,414	6,032,442
Value of products .. .. { Total ..	$603,779,018	$560,682,765
Value of products .. .. { Per head..	$99·74	$92·94

Here, then, instead of a balance of $13·30 per head in favour of the South, we have $6·80 on the other side, equal to a total deficiency on the part of the slave States of $41,020,605, or more than four-tenths the value of the cotton crop of 1850.

Mr. Sandige's figures were taken from De Bow's "Compendium of the Census," the correctness of which has often been impugned. In 1852 the United States Government published a "Report on Trade and Commerce." The work was compiled under the superintendence of Mr. Andrews; and in it there is a table which gives the value of the different agricultural products of the various States of the Union in the year 1850. These figures differ materially from those of De Bow. The

reader may see them placed side by side in Chase and Sanborn's "Statistical View of the Condition of the Free and Slave States," pages 36 and 37. The totals of the two are as follows (both sets of figures include several items of Northern and Southern produce not taken into account by Mr. Sandige, but the relative position of the sections is not very materially altered thereby):—

TOTAL VALUE OF AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS.

	Free States.	Slave States.
	Dollars.	Dollars.
According to De Bow	709,177,527	634,570,057
Ditto Andrews	846,585,297	627,101,318
Difference in favour of Free States	137,407,770	.. ..
Ditto against Slave States	.. ..	7,468,739
Total difference in favour of Free States		144,876,509

Taking Andrews' statements instead of those quoted by Sandige, and dividing them by the agricultural population of the North and South, the result is as follows:—

	North.	South.
Total value of products	$ 846,585,297	$ 627,101,318
Population engaged	6,053,414	6,032,442
Production per head	$ 139·86	$ 103·95

The balance against the South, therefore, is $35·91 per head, or $216,624,992 in all. Facts like these require no comment.

The total area of the free States, in 1850, was 392,962,080 acres, and of the slave States 544,391,130 acres, showing a balance in favour of the latter of 152,864,638 acres. Of the former, 392,231,880 acres, or 28·56 per cent., were occupied, and

of the latter 180,572,292, or 33·17 per cent. The number of acres actually under cultivation was 58,332,050 in the free States, or 14·72 per cent. of the whole area, and 54,361,327 in the slave States, or only 10·09 per cent. of the entire area.

The value of the farms in the free States was $2,147,218,478, and in the slave States $1,119,380,109, or $19·00 per acre of land *occupied* in the former, but only $6·09 in the latter! The value of the farming implements and machinery in the North was $85,836,141, and in the South $65,385,845.

The average size of the farms in the South is much larger than the average extent of those in the North; yet the value of the implements and machinery upon each farm averages only 36 cents in the former, against 77 cents in the latter. This fact is a most important phase of the subject. It is notorious that slavery, and the laws which prohibit the mental culture of the negro, have so degraded his nature as to render the introduction of improved agricultural practice and machinery impossible. The tendency of the slave system is to render the labourer indolent, careless, and wasteful of both time and materials. The negro is perfectly mindless, and altogether incapable of receiving instruction in the higher branches of scientific farming. When Mr. Olmsted was in Virginia, in 1853, he visited a farm on the St. James river which was cultivated solely by slave labour, and he remarked :—

"Here I am shown tools that no man in his senses with us would allow a labourer, to whom he was paying wages, to be encumbered with; and the excessive weight and clumsiness of which, I would judge, would make work at least ten per cent. greater than those ordinarily used with us. And I am assured that, in the careless and clumsy way they must be used by the slaves, anything

lighter or less rude could not be furnished them with good economy, and that such tools as we constantly give our labourers, and find our profit in giving them, would not last out a day in a Virginia cornfield, much lighter and more free from stones though it be than ours."*

The same author, whilst in South Carolina, found that in certain parts of the State the plough was an almost unknown instrument of tillage :—†

"On one farm he had described to him, *as a novelty*, a plow, with 'a sort of wing, like, on one side,' that pushed off and turned over a slice of the ground; from which it appeared that he had until recently never seen a mould-board; the common plows of this country being constructed on the same principles as those of the Chinese, and only rooting the ground, like a hog or a mole, not clearing and turning."‡

The real cause of this was pithily given by a Virginian tobacco planter: "You can make a nigger work, *but you cannot make him think.*" No; education and a proper amount of self-interest alone can make a labourer a profitable and intelligent servant. In slavery, however, this is out of the question: a reflective slave is a dangerous "article." "Negro property as it increases in intelligence decreases in security; as it becomes of greater value, and its security more important, more regard is naturally paid to the means of suppressing its ambition and dwarfing its intellect." §

Hence "a well-informed capitalist and slave-holder" remarked that—

"In working niggers, we must always calculate that they will not labour at all except to avoid punishment, and they will never do more than just enough to save themselves from being punished, and no amount of punishment will prevent their working carelessly and indifferently. It always seems on the plantation as if they

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* *A Journey in the Seaboard Slave States*, pp. 46 and 47.

† *Ibid.*, p. 397. ‡ *Ibid.*, p. 402. § *Ibid.*, p. 281.

took pains to break all the tools and spoil all the cattle they possibly can, even when they know they'll be directly punished for it."*

In a country where such a condition of things exists it is not astonishing that the soil does not give up the same amount of produce, as under the more careful and thorough cultivation practised by free and intelligent labourers. Thus according to De Bow's tables, as quoted by Mr. Helper in his "Impending Crisis of the South," p. 64, the average actual crops per acre of articles produced in both sections of the Union were as follows:—

		Free States.	Slave States.
Wheat	Bushels per acre	12	9
Oats	,,	27	17
Rye	,,	18	11
Indian corn	,,	31	20
Irish potatoes	,,	125	113

Were it not for the constant calling in of new farms and plantations the average would have been still further against the slave States. Taking the seven original free States, except Rhode Island, for which there are no returns, and the six original slave States, and comparing their per acreage produce of wheat and Indian corn, we have the following result:—

Free States.	Produce per Acre, in Bushels. Wheat.	Indian Corn.
New York	12	27
Massachusetts	16	31
New Hampshire	11	30
New Jersey	11	33
Connecticut	..	40
Pennsylvania	15	20

* *Journey in the Seaboard Slave States*, p. 105.

Slave States.	Produce per Acre, in Bushels. Wheat.	Indian Corn.
Virginia	7	18
Delaware	11	20
Maryland	13	23
North Carolina	7	17
South Carolina	8	11
Georgia	5	16

There are three States in the South whose average per acreage produce of wheat exceeds the mean average of the North, viz., Maryland 13, and Florida and Texas 15 each; but there are none of the Northern States so low as the mean average of the South, though there are five States which exceed the Northern average of 12 bushels. The lowest average in the free States is Michigan—10; the lowest in the slave States, Alabama and Georgia, both 5! *One* State in the South produces more than 30 bushels of Indian corn per acre, but in the North there are *nine* such.

The following table furnishes particulars of the produce of the two principal growths of the twenty-seven States which existed in 1840, compared with the produce of the same States in 1850:—

Wheat.

	1840. Bushels.	Per Cent. of whole.	1850. Bushels.	Per Cent. of whole.
Free States ..	54,413,502	65	66,358,811	70
Slave States ..	30,042,549	35	27,861,050	30
Total	84,456,051	100	94,219,861	100

INDIAN CORN.

	1840. Bushels.	Per Cent. of whole.	1850. Bushels.	Per Cent. of whole.
Free States ..	123,342,958	33	233,036,102	41
Slave States ..	251,504,343	67	340,966,597	59
Total	374,847,301	100	574,002,699	100

Here it will be perceived that the slave States in 1840 produced 35 per cent. of the total yield of wheat, but only 30 per cent. in 1850; and that during the ten years, whilst the crops of the free States exhibit an *increase* of 22 per cent., those of the slave States show a *decrease* of 7 per cent.! In 1840 the latter produced 67 per cent. of the total crop of Indian corn, but only 59 in 1850: the increase in the North being about 88 per cent., but in the South only 35 per cent.

Thus, then, the superiority of freedom is clear and unmistakeable; and the question naturally arises—why, under the circumstances, has free labour failed to supplant the labour of slaves? There are several reasons. First, there is the reluctance of the majority of free men to enter into competition with the slave, so that the latter virtually monopolizes the principal outlet for labour—he retains possession because no one *practically* desires to dislodge him.

Secondly, the few who do not object to employ themselves in avocations commonly followed by slaves are degenerated by the pernicious effects of immediate contact with servility:—

"The labourer, who, in New York, gives a certain amount of labour for his wages in a day, soon finds in Virginia that the ordinary *measure of labour* is

smaller than in New York; a 'day's work' or a month's does not mean the same that it did in New York. He naturally adapts his wares to the market. Just as in New York a knavish custom having been some time ago established of selling a measure of three-quarters of a bushel of certain articles under the name of a bushel, no man now finds it to his advantage to offer them by the full bushel at a correspondingly higher price. Though every one cries out against the custom, and demands a bushel for a bushel, few are willing to pay proportionally for it; few are willing to sell it without being paid more than proportionately, on account of their deviation from custom, and the custom must be reformed very slowly. So the labourer, finding that the capitalists of Virginia are accustomed to pay for a poor article at a high price, prefers to furnish them the poor article at their usual price, rather than a better article, unless at a more than correspondingly better price."*

Thirdly, slave labour, *directly*, is cheaper: that is, it takes less of the capital of the general community to clothe and feed a slave than it does to clothe and feed a freeman. Perhaps in *food* the consumption will not greatly vary; still there will be some difference, owing to the consumption of articles of luxury by the freeman, and which the slave is deprived of. But in clothing the difference will be very great. Probably $2½ to $3 per annum will be the full extent of the average cost of clothing a slave; but the freeman will consume five or six times as much. This of itself reacts unfavourably upon society, insomuch as it restricts the demand for skilled labour, and prevents the general progress of the people at large. It enables the slave-holder to obtain more than his legitimate share of the annual profits of the community. The middle, or non-slave-holding class of freemen have no opportunities for amassing wealth, for there is no outlet for their labour sufficiently remunerative to leave a margin "to put by;" they have as much as they can do to make both ends meet.

* Olmsted: *Journey in the Seaboard Slave States*, p. 209.

It is the natural effect therefore of the slave economy that the gross labour results of the South is only $61·60 per head, against $80·35 in the North, and it must ever be so, so long as the South continues slave, and society continues to be composed of its present threefold elements:—one-fourth (perhaps less) slave-holders and their families, who monopolize the wealth and power of the country; one-half non-slave-holding freemen, poor and unambitious; and one-fourth slaves, ignorant and debased.

Fourthly, the immense capital wielded by, or at the command of the slave-holders, enables them to buy up and occupy the best situated (for communication with navigationary outlets) and most fertile lands; whilst the limited means at the disposal of the great majority of the non-slave-holding whites compels them to be content with either the sterile soils of the hill districts or the used-up plantations of slave-holders. A writer in De Bow's "Resources of the South and West" remarks, speaking of the "South-west:"—

"In the more southern portion of this region the non-slave-holders possess generally but very small means, and the land which they possess is almost universally poor, and so sterile that a scanty subsistence is all that can be derived from its cultivation; and the more fertile soil, being in the hands of the slave-holders, must ever remain out of the power of those who have none."

And the Hon. C. C. Clay of Alabama, in an Address* delivered before the Chunnenuggee Horticultural Society in 1855, said:—

"The cotton-growing portion of the valley of the Mississippi, the very garden of the Union, is year by year wrested from the hands of the small farmer and delivered over to the great capitalists." "All the great cotton lands were first

* Published in *De Bow's Review* for December, 1855.

opened up by industrious settlers, with small means and much energy. No sooner is their clearing made, and their homestead growing into comfort, than the great planter comes from the east with his black horde, settles down in the district, and absorbs and overruns everything."

And thus the free settlers are forced on to the West. Hence the deserted villages which meet the eye everywhere. Hence the general ignorance and lack of religion amongst the people,—for what would be the use of schools and churches to a race so sparsely situated, and so nomadic in its habits?

Fifthly, slavery predominates because it is fashionable. The poor white despises labour because it is dishonourable; the rich white gives no employment to white labour because it is fashionable "to have niggers round about." Mr. Olmsted, in "A Letter to a Southern Friend," remarks:—

"It is fashionable with you to own slaves, as it is with the English to own land, with the Arabs, horses; and as beads and vermilion have a value among Indians, which seems to us absurd, so, among you, has the power of commanding the service of slaves. Consequently, you are willing to pay a price for it which, to one not educated as you have been, seems absurdly high."*

Besides this, the "institution" has given a domineering tone to the upper class, and bred amongst employers of labour a "habit of command" which the poor freeman will not submit to. The slave may be *driven* in approved style; not so the freeman: the latter must be treated with proper respect or he will soon assert his independence. This is distasteful to the high aristocrat, and he prefers to hold his labourers in the shape of "property," to be used according to his will and pleasure.

Lastly, there is the influence of cotton. "King Cotton" is

* *A Journey through Texas*, pp. 16 and 17.

the great upholder of slavery, both in the non-cotton-growing slave States and in those whose principal produce is that staple. The "institution" has long been demonstrated unprofitable for the purposes of agriculture in the border slave States. Numerous instances have occurred in which large plantations have been divided and disposed of to small farmers, mostly employing free labour, and which have, in consequence, yielded more than double the amount of produce raised when the soil was in the hands of planters and their negroes: those farms cultivated *entirely* by free labour realizing the largest average returns.

The gradual decrease in the slave population of two of the border States (Delaware and Maryland), and the slow progress made in the remainder, shows that the system is in course of extinction. The small relative annual increase in the number of slaves in these States is the result, not of a declining fecundity, but the effect entirely of the large yearly deportations South to meet the demands of the cotton planters. Were there no outlet for the surplus negro population of Virginia, Kentucky and their neighbours, it would be impossible for their owners to find them profitable employment, the popularity of the institution would decline, and every effort would be made to restrict the progress of the evil. Slavery, however, though unremunerative for general industrial purposes, is highly profitable as a labour-producing system for the new and fertile lands of the South and West, and is retained solely in view of the constancy of the negro demand from those districts.

Some idea of the extent and value of this "export" business may be formed by a glance at the following figures:—

	1850.	1860.
Total Slave population of the South	3,200,304	3,949,557
Increase per cent., 1850 to 1860..	.. ..	23·40
Slave population of the following *importing* States, whose agricultural produce is principally cotton :—		
Alabama..	342,844	435,132
Arkansas	47,100	111,104
Florida	39,310	61,753
Georgia	381,682	462,230
Louisiana	244,809	332,550
Mississippi	309,878	436,696
Texas	58,161	180,388
Total	1,423,784	2,019,853
Increase per cent., 1850 to 1860		41·10
Slave population of the above-named States in 1860, had the increase during the previous decade been in the same ratio as the total of the Union, viz., 23·40		1,756,840
Difference: being the number of negroes imported from the slave-breeding States { Total		263,013
Annual		26,301
Value at $1000 per head .. .. { Total		$ 263,013,000
Annual		$ 26,301,000

Thus in round numbers 263,000 slaves, valued at £263,000,000, were purchased by the seven cotton States in ten years! or 26,300 negroes, worth £26,300,000 dollars per annum!

With such a lucrative trade in their hands can we wonder at the border States clinging to slavery? or can we be surprised that their sympathies are with the States which have lately seceded from the Union. They are willing subjects of King Cotton; and the fact that they are so is one reason why the cultivation of cotton by slave labour is so profitable as it is. Cut off the cotton planters' external labour supply, and his

negroes would soon advance to such a price as would eat up his substance and make it positively more profitable for him to liberate them at once.

That cotton cultivation by slave labour, under present circumstances, is profitable there can be no doubt; but it does not follow that free labour if adopted would not pay equally as well, if not better.

It is in cotton *only* that the system is really remunerative, and there are three primary causes of this: first, the ever-increasing demand for the staple, and its consequent maintenance at a high range of prices; secondly, the cheapness and prolificacy of the soil; and, thirdly, the small amount of labour required to till the ground, owing to its fertility, and the very limited amount of intelligence which suffices for the cultivation of the crop. But soil *will* wear out with incessant culture; and improved soil will require improved modes of farming, and improved modes of farming presupposes intelligent labour, and intelligent labour is incompatible with slavery:—

"The negro slave indicates infallibly a rich soil. He can exist nowhere else, his function in political economy being to destroy everything which is destructible, and to improve nothing. The Valley of the Nile could sustain him in undiminished numbers, the bounty of nature which enriches it being annual and perennial. But wherever the soil is exhaustible, he will exhaust it. With the census enumerations at various periods, wherever slavery has been permitted by law in the United States, the original fertility of different districts can be deduced from the numbers of slaves as accurately as from the best-considered reports. The permanency of this fertility may be deduced from the permanency of the slave population, but with less accuracy; it being a disturbing element in the calculation, that slaves are in some places maintained chiefly with reference to breeding, and scarcely at all with reference to the profits of their labour. The slave-holder takes the best lands—first, because he has the means to command his choice, and next, because none but the best lands can bear the burdens he imposes upon them. His mission being, not to amelio-

rate, but to devastate, he never goes upon land which needs improvement in order to be made profitable, but devolves upon free labour the necessity of both reclaiming natural wastes, and of restoring fields blasted by servile cultivation."*

Unless the Southern States are prepared to sink to the level of the Central American Republics, they must educate their labouring population, and to educate their labouring population will be the first step towards emancipation. Some time it must come to this—the danger is that the slaves will not wait the time of their owners.

The agriculture of the country at present is prosperous, not *because* of slavery, but in *spite* of it. Mr. Olmsted spent much time in inquiring into this subject, and his conclusion is thus summed up :—

"Slave labour is to-day undoubtedly profitable to certain owners of slaves in Mississippi. It was undoubtedly profitable to roll tobacco in casks one hundred miles to market at one time in Virginia. It would probably be profitable in Illinois to reap wheat with sickles, and thrash it with flails, and market it by waggons, if there were no horse-reaping machines engaged in supplying the demand for wheat; but there is many hundredfold of wealth in Illinois to-day than there would have been had sickles, flails, and waggon-trains been held to there with the same bigotry as is slavery in Mississippi; and if it could be made certain that ten years hence the present labour system of Mississippi would be superseded by the free-labour system, I have little doubt that twenty years hence the wealth of Mississippi would be at least tenfold what, under the present system, it is likely to be, and the whole country and the whole world be some degrees happier than it is now likely to be."†

Great Britain flourished under the old fiscal laws; but will any one, now-a-days, say that English commerce thrived *because* of trade and navigation protection and monopolies? Look at the following figures, which give a view of the progress of British

* *The Progress of Slavery in the United States.* By G. M. Weston, p. 19.
† *A Journey in the Back Country*, p. 296.

commerce for the past thirty-one years—the seventeen first, years of protection, and the fourteen last, years of free trade. We give the figures relating to exports only, for the real or declared value of imports was not ascertained in any year earlier than 1854 :—

DECLARED VALUE OF EXPORTS.

	Protection period.		Free Trade period.
	£		£
1830	38,271,597	1847	58,842,377
1835	47,372,270	1851	71,367,885
1840	51,406,430	1856	95,688,085
1846	57,786,876	1860	135,842,817

A young country, like a young man, may be prodigal of its wealth and resources, and may transgress nature's laws for a time; but there is a limit to improvidence, and though nature will suffer a great deal, she will not be outraged without redress. She may be tardy in presenting her little account, but sooner or later she will demand her due, and exact her penalty; like Shylock, she will have her *full* pound of flesh.

Slavery may exist, and even "pay," *for a time*, in a thinly populated country and on a fertile soil, but it cannot exist under any other circumstances; for as the population increases, and the soil becomes exhausted, slave labour will decline or "move on." It is in this way that the institution has been abolished in the Northern States of America, and is growing less popular in the middle States; and it is the same influence which causes the present Southern planters and their slaves to gravitate towards the West: free labour taking up the soil as the slave-holders leave it.

The prosperity of slavery, if there be such a thing, is transient, and confined to a small section of the people—the actual slaveholders—to the exclusion of the many; but the prosperity of freedom is substantial and progressive, and extends to the whole community. The sum total of the industry of a nation of slaveholders and their slaves, will ever be less than the sum total of the industry of a free and enterprising people, of equal population. And whilst, as time wears on, the former will retrograde, the latter will progress—the one sink, and the other rise, in the scale of nations. It is the accident of cotton, and the connection with the North, which has prevented the Southern States of the American Union from sinking to the level of third or fourth rate communities.

CHAPTER V.

FARTHER FACTS AND ARGUMENTS IN PROOF OF THE SUPERIORITY OF FREE INSTITUTIONS.—THE SOUTH AWARE OF ITS INFERIORITY.

THE unequal race between the two sections of the Republic, as just delineated, has long been apparent to the intelligent and thinking portion of the planters and farmers of the South. At the commencement of their career the slave States had the advantage over the free States in all the elements of national progress; their population was larger, and the soil and climate of their possessions far superior; but during the eighty years of its existence the South has been far outstripped by its vigourous rival. Northern population increases half as fast again, and its density in 1850 was double that of the South. The free States have fifty per cent. more of improved lands, and notwithstanding the comparative sterility of their soil, the yield, per acre, of products common to both is 50 to 75 per cent. greater than in the slave States; whilst the value of the agricultural and manufactured products of the former are nearly double the total industry of the latter.

But, independently of the facts brought to light by the census tables, the Southerner is daily confronted with practical evidence

of the superior industrial position of the North. He sees that, spite of the extent and value of the South's foreign trade, the people grow no richer.

One would naturally suppose that a country producing and selling annually from $150,000,000 to $200,000,000 of cotton, sugar, tobacco and rice, should be a land of nabobs and millionaires; a nation, as Mr. Tarver remarks,* where the planters dwell in palaces, upon estates improved by every device of art; a land intersected with a network of canals, turnpikes, and railways, and every other improvement designed for use or ornament; a country where splendid edifices dedicated to religion and learning are everywhere to be found; a people, in fact, amongst whom all the arts of advanced civilized life exist in the highest state of perfection and grandeur. But, instead of this, the traveller in the Southern States is familiarized with a state of things which betoken a condition of a third or, at all events, a second rate civilization. What are considered to be wealthy planters dwell in habitations of the most primitive character, surrounded by cotton fields or exhausted plantations, washed into gullies and abandoned. Railways are rare, canals rarer, rivers unimproved, and roads almost impassable. Churches are often mere overgrown log huts, and schools the same. Literature and the fine arts are entirely discarded.

The patriotic Southerner feels the reality of all this; and as he compares the degraded condition of the South with the thriving and wealthy communities of the North, his heart sinks with-

* In De Bow's *Industrial Resources of the South-West.*

in him—he is galled and ashamed of his country's manifest inferiority. The Virginian goes back to the days of the revolution, when his State was the empire commonwealth of the Union, and as he draws his eye down the page of history he sees her gradually fall into the rear, until, from the *first* in 1790, she is in 1860 the *fifth* in point of population! and by the next decade will probably be still further reduced. He finds that in 1791 the exports of the "old dominion" were valued at $3,130,865, and those of New York at $2,505,465; but that in 1852 the latter had risen to $87,484,456, and the former *fallen* to $2,724,657! and that, whilst in 1791 the imports of Virginia and New York were pretty nearly equal, the figures in 1853 were $399,004 and $178,270,999 respectively!* Well might Governor Wise remark, when addressing the Virginian electors in 1855:—

"Commerce has long ago spread her sails, and sailed away from you. You have not, as yet, dug more than coal enough to warm yourselves at your own hearths; you have set no tilt-hammer of Vulcan to strike blows worthy of gods in your iron foundries; you have not yet spun more than coarse cotton enough, in the way of manufacture, to clothe your own slaves. You have had no commerce, no mining, no manufactures. You have relied alone on the single power of agriculture, and such agriculture! Your sedge-patches outshine the sun. Your inattention to your only source of wealth has scared the very bosom of mother earth. Instead of having to feed cattle on a thousand hills, you have had to chase the stump-tailed steer through the sedge-patches to procure a tough beef-steak. The present condition of things has existed too long in Virginia. The landlord has skinned the tenant, and the tenant has skinned the land, until all have grown poor together."

The reflective North Carolinian has an equally melancholy retrospect. His State commenced in 1790 with a population inferior only to Virginia and Pennsylvania; but in 1860 she stood

* See Helper's *Impending Crisis of the South*, pp. 18, 19.

twelfth in the list! and now its citizens have the unenviable distinction of being, on the average, the most ignorant and least industrious of all the people of the United States. In 1850:—

The native white population was	550,267
The number under 20 years of age	301,106
The number over 20 years of age	249,161
The number of the last named who could not read and write	73,226

Being more than one-fourth of the native white adults.*

In the same year the per acreage crops of the following growths, compared with the average of the free States and the average of the whole slave States, was:—

	Wheat.	Oats.	Rye.	Indian Corn.	Potatoes.
Free States .. Bushels.	12	27	18	21	125
Slave States .. „	9	17	11	20	113
North Carolina „	7	10	15	17	65

The total population of North Carolina in 1790 was 393,751, and the extent of her territory 50,704 square miles, or 32,450,506 acres. Indiana, one of the free Western States, containing 33,809 square miles, or 21,637,760 acres, was admitted into the Union in 1816, and in 1830 her population was only 343,031 persons. But in 1850 Indiana had 5,046,543 acres of improved land, out of her total of 21,637,760 acres, whilst North Carolina had only 5,453,975 acres out of 32,450,506. In the same year the cash value of the farms of the former was $136,385,173, but

* See Olmsted's *Journey in the Sea-board Slave States*, p. 367.

of the latter only $67,891,766. In 1860 the populations of the two States were—Indiana 1,350,802, and North Carolina 1,008,842!

Turning to South Carolina, we find that she possesses a territory measuring 29,385 square miles, or 18,805,400 acres, and that her people in 1860 numbered 705,371 souls—308,186 free, and 407,185 slave. The Palmetto State considers herself to be the very model of slaveocracy, and in all movements having for their objects the consolidation of African slavery she has always taken the lead. One would, therefore, expect that, from the eagerness with which she clings to her social system, she had found, and was prepared to show by her own experience, that slavery was eminently calculated to develop the industrial resources of a nation, and increase its status and influence among the commonwealths of the world.

South Carolina has almost the monopoly of the rice culture, and she stands fourth in the list of cotton-producing States: her statistics ought, therefore, to look well. Let us see. We will compare her condition with that of New Jersey, a little State of 8,320 square miles, or less than one-third the size of South Carolina. Seventy years ago the population of the former was 184,139 persons, and of the latter 249,073; in 1860 the citizens of New Jersey had increased to 676,084, or 81 to the square mile, and those of the Palmetto State to 715,371, or only 24 to the square mile. In 1850 the value of the farms of the free State was $120,237,511; but of the slave State only $82,431,684; and in 1854 the average value of the farms per acre was $28·76 in the former, but only $1·32 in the latter! In

1850 New Jersey had 8,370 native white adults unable to read and write—South Carolina 15,580! New Jersey had 1,473 public schools and 77,930 pupils—South Carolina 724 of the former and 17,380 of the latter. And all this in the face of the fact that South Carolina was almost twice as wealthy as New Jersey; the value of the real and personal estate of the latter being only $153,151,619, against $288,257,694 of the former: the secret of all, however, being that, of South Carolina's two hundred and eighty-eight millions, $192,492,000 were sunk in negroes. How different would have been the present condition of the "gallant little State," as Calhoun used to call her, if her citizens had followed the example of New Jersey, and invested their cash in the best-paying and most profitable enterprises, instead of keeping it locked up in human merchandize!

South Carolinians are aware of their inferior progress, and often deplore it; but hitherto they have failed to recognise the true cause of their depression. They are mortified by their dependence upon Northern and European manufacturers for nearly the whole of their clothing, machinery, farming implements, &c., and, times out of number, they have endeavoured to release themselves of the "yoke," as they call it. Years ago, they believed that the cause of all was the protective tariffs of the North, whereby Yankeedom was fostered and Southerndom made bankrupt. But latterly they have given up that idea, and now seek secession, and a revival of the African slave-trade, as the two only methods of recuperation. For the last quarter of a century South Carolina has been railing against the Union as the cause of her ignominious condition, and ceased not to

upbraid the Confederation, and breed discontent between the North and South, until she has finally brought the two sections into mortal conflict, and introduced all the horrors of civil war.

Georgia is considered to be the most go-ahead State of the South. Of the seceded States she stands at the head; and in case that the proposed Confederacy is consummated, the general opinion is that she will undoubtedly take the lead: Savannah, and not Charleston, will become the New York of the South. In wealth she is second only to Virginia. In the value of her exports in 1859 she ranked third in amount. A larger portion of her people are employed in manufacturing pursuits than in any of the six other dissentient States. She has a larger amount of capital invested in those pursuits, and the value of her products is only slightly exceeded by Louisiana. Out of the 4,203 miles of railways in the "Southern Confederacy," Georgia possesses 1,240, and in them she has invested $25,687,220. But, notwithstanding her creditable position, when compared with other slave States, she is far distanced by all of the Northern States of equal population and territory, and exceeded by some of the smaller ones. Illinois and Georgia are pretty nearly of the same extent geographically, and in 1850 were about equal in population. But though Illinois was only admitted into the Union in 1818, and, until within the last decade, has always been second in point of population, her industry has already overtaken that of the empire-State of the talked-of Southern Union. Here are the figures for the year 1850:—

		Georgia.	Illinois.
Population ..	1850	906,185	851,470
	1830	516,823	157,455
	1810	252,433	12,282
Area	Square miles	58,000	55,405
	Acres	37,120,000	35,359,200
Acres of *improved* land		6,378,479	5,039,545
Cash value of	Farms	$95,753,445	$96,133,290
	Farm implements and machinery	$5,894,150	$6,405,561
Value of enumerated agricultural and animal products		$51,720,000	$68,950,000
Value of manufactured products		$7,086,525	$17,236,073
Value of real and personal estate (exclusive of slaves)		$144,584,714	$156,265,006
Cost of railroads to 1858-59		$25,687,220	$107,720,937

The geographical position of Georgia, for commercial purposes, is superior to that of Illinois. The latter is far inland, whilst the former is on the margin of the Atlantic Ocean; yet, in 1859, the one possessed 73,485 tons of shipping, and the other only 40,478 tons.

Georgians see all this; but, like South Carolinians, they ignore the cause, and they are indignant if you throw out a hint that their abnormal social system is at the bottom of the mischief. They believe themselves to be the victims, not of slavery, but of Yankee cupidity, and that the only remedy is to cut all connection with the Northern States.

It is the knowledge of their slow progress which has made the doctrine of secession so popular in the seceded States. Ardent

politicians, eager for fame and power, tell the multitude that dissolution would open to them a career of prosperity such as they can never enter whilst united with the free States; and the multitude, feeling their present degraded condition, are eager to grasp at the first panacea offered. We speak now of the million, the poor whites, who know nothing of political affairs except what they glean from a few pro-slavery newspapers, or what is told them by pro-slavery orators; and their ignorance is so great that they give credence to the boldest assertions made respecting the power and intentions of the people of the free States.

There is, however, spread over the South an influential middle-class, who, besides seeing the backward state of their country, have an idea of the real cause, but have not sufficient power to turn their knowledge to practical account. This section of the people is largely represented in the border States and in Arkansas, and is not without followers in the seceded States, especially Texas and Louisiana. The reason is, that they are more intelligent and less prejudiced than the bulk of the people, and come oftener into contact with the superior economy of freedom. They discard the notion of the essential inability of the South to compete with the North in manufactures, and do not hesitate to attribute their stationary condition to the incubus of slavery. Cassius M. Clay, of Kentucky, may be taken as representing the advance-guard of this Southern party of progress. In a speech delivered at New York, on the 24th Oct., 1856, Mr. Clay thus remarked on the South's consciousness of its inferiority, and the fruitless attempts which it has made to ameliorate its condition:—

"If there are no manufactures, there is no commerce. In vain do the slave-holders go to Knoxville, to Nashville, to Memphis, and to Charleston, and resolve that they will have nothing to do with these abolition eighteen millions of Northern people; that they will build their own vessels, manufacture their own goods, ship their own products to foreign countries, and break down New York, Philadelphia, and Boston! Again they resolve, and re-resolve, and yet there is not a single ton more shipped, and not a single article added to the wealth of the South. But, gentlemen, they never invite such men as I am to attend their conventions. They know that I would tell them that slavery is the cause of their poverty, and that I would tell them that what they are aiming at is the dissolution of the Union—that they may be prepared to strike for that whenever the nation rises. They well know that by slave labour the very propositions which they make can never be realized; yet, when we show these things, they cry out, 'Oh, cotton is king.' But when we look at the statistics, we find that so far from cotton being king, grass is king. There are nine articles of staple productions which are larger than that of cotton in this country."

Dr. Ruffner, of Virginia, in 1847, in an "Address to the People of West Virginia, showing that slavery is injurious to the public welfare, and that it may be gradually abolished, without detriment to the rights and interests of slave-holders," thus alluded to the common notion that the North is responsible for Southern retrogression:—

"Our great Virginia, with all her natural facilities for trade, brings to her ports only about one five-hundredth part of the goods, wares, and merchandize imported into the United States. Shall we be told that the cause of this decline of Virginia commerce is the growth of Northern cities, which, by means of their canals and railroads and vast capital, draw off the trade from the smaller ports to themselves? and what then? *The cause assigned is, itself, the effect of a prior cause.* We would ask those who take this superficial view of the matter, why should the great commercial party be all *outside* Virginia, and near or in the free States? Why should every commercial improvement, every wheel that speeds the movements of trade, serve but to *carry away* from the slave States more and more of their wealth for the benefit of the great Northern cities?"

No better proof can be had of the blighting and retarding influence of slavery than is furnished by the comparative condition of different portions of the border slave States: those

counties adjoining the free States exhibiting a marked contrast to the districts more remote. Take Maryland, for instance. In 1790 the population of this State was 205,418 whites and 103,344 slaves; in 1850, 417,943 whites and 91,368 slaves: the white population had thus doubled itself, whilst the slave had declined 11,976. But nearly the whole of the increase in the one, and the decrease in the other, was in the counties bordering upon Pennsylvania, as will be seen from the following figures:—*

	Area.	1790.		1850.	
		Whites.	Slaves.	Whites.	Slaves.
Border counties ..	4,474	97,664	19,041	305,282	18,430
Remaining counties	6,650	107,754	84,303	112,661	72,938

It would, probably, be impossible to find another district of country in the world where the population has remained as stationary as in Southern Maryland: indeed, adding freemen and slaves together, there has been a positive decrease of 6,458 persons! The reader will perceive that the cause cannot be the scarcity of room, for the depopulated counties contain 2,176 square miles of territory more than the border counties. Neither can it be attributed to the geographical position of the slave counties; for, for commercial purposes, they are the best situated in the State:—

"No region on the face of the globe contains more admirable advantages of climate, fertility, salubrity and position. The eastern shore fronts both upon

* From *The Progress of Slavery in the United States.* By G. M. Weston, p. 17. (Washington, 1858).

Chesapeake Bay and upon the Atlantic Ocean. The western shore fronts upon Chesapeake Bay, while its long southern border is washed by the majestic Potomac, which men-of-war can ascend more than one hundred miles from the bay. Both shores are penetrated by numerous navigable streams, and creeks, and inlets, making an aggregate of water-line superior to that of any State in the Union. Proximity and easiness of access to New York, Philadelphia and Baltimore, on the north, and the steady growth of Washington on the south, afford the best markets, and ought to stimulate agriculture to its highest perfection."*

But the region is shunned by the only system of economy capable of really developing its resources. The northern portion of the State is fast becoming free; but its political influence is counterbalanced by the representative power held by the slave-holders, in virtue of the three-fifths calculation of their slaves. The flourishing condition of the border counties is seen in the greater value of their farms; the per acre average being $29·63 against $13·83, or less than one-half, in the districts cultivated by slave-labour. The same phenomena is observable in Delaware; the average value of the farms per acre being, for the two counties adjoining Pennsylvania and New Jersey, and containing one per cent. of slaves, $31·59, and for the remaining county, having six per cent. of slaves, only $7·79.† But the last decennial census shows that, in both Delaware and Maryland, the institution is in process of gradual extinction.

This innovating principle is present likewise in Missouri, Virginia, Kentucky, and Tennessee; in the whole of which the proportion of the slave population to the total has been lessening every decade. Slavery, when brought face to face with freedom, is forced to succumb; hence, in all of the States just named,

* *The Progress of Slavery in the United States.* By Weston, p. 18.
† *Ibid.*, p. 7.

the institution is gradually retiring towards the South. The northern and eastern frontier counties are almost entirely occupied by farmers who employ nought but free labour. The effects are, a superior average intelligence, more comfortable dwellings, and a vast increase in the wealth of the community. Farms in Western Virginia, where there exist but few slaves, were valued in 1850 at $12·98 per acre; but in the eastern districts, where slavery predominated, only $8·42 per acre, and that notwithstanding the greater fertility of the soil of the latter. In the counties of Kentucky, adjoining Ohio, and having only 10 per cent. of slaves, the value of the farms averaged $18·27 per acre; in the counties adjoining Indiana, having a slave population of 21 per cent., the value was only $10·44. Mr. Stirling, during his journey through Tennessee, in 1857, was struck with the thriving appearance of the eastern portion of the State, compared with the middle and western regions, and found an explanation of the circumstance in the fact, that the least prosperous districts were those having the largest proportion of slaves; the figures being for the east 8·6 per cent., for the middle 27·9 per cent., and for the west 31·7 per cent.*

These facts, together with those given in the previous four chapters, have not failed to have their due effect upon the great bulk of the citizens of the border States, as well as a considerable number of those of the States further south—slave-holding citizens as well as non-slave-holding. They see the agricultural superiority of the North, and trace it to the independence and

* *Letters from the Slave States*, p. 323.

mental cultivation of the labourers, whose freedom carries with it social and other responsibilities unknown to the slave, and far more stimulating than the lash. They perceive, also, that whilst the slave cares little for either the quantity or the quality of the work which he performs, the self-interest of the freeman prompts him to accomplish the greatest results in the least possible time, and in the best possible manner.

Hence there are many Southerners who are heartily tired of their position, and who would willingly give their support to any measures calculated to relieve them. But the opposition of the most influential of the slave-holders, together with the great social, industrial, and financial difficulties which present themselves on the very threshold of emancipation, have, hitherto, prevented the reform party from accomplishing any practical step towards general freedom.

PART IV.

EMANCIPATION.

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CHAPTER I.

The Difficulties in the Path of Freedom.

There are doubtless great obstacles to the introduction of emancipation; but, great as they are, they must be met and overcome, or fearful consequences will ensue. "If," says Mr. Stirling, "the South cannot find a solution of this slave question, God will find one for them, and that, trust me, will be a violent one."* There may not be much difficulty experienced in keeping 4,000,000 of human beings in the vilest bondage, ignorant as they are, and spread over a vast extent of territory; but what will be the state of affairs in twenty years hence, when the slaves will number 7,000,000, or in twenty years later, when they will reach 12,000,000, and when intelligence, spite of all precaution, will be more widely diffused than it is now? If freedom, present or prospective, is not presented to the slaves the time will come when they will *take* it. It may not be in the present generation,

* *Letters from the Slave States*, p. 52.

but who will say that it will not be in the next? Every year of procrastination will add to the difficulties of the question; and if the slave-holders of the present day desire to have the blessings, and not the execrations of posterity, they will face the evil at once, and sow the seeds of gradual and peaceable emancipation.

The ban of Christendom is upon slavery; and though the proposed Southern Confederacy may possibly obtain a recognition of its independence, it may rest assured that it will never have the good wishes of the freedom-loving peoples of Europe, so long as it retains in its constitution "the wild and guilty fantasy that man can hold property in man."* But let the Southerners express a willingness to relinquish their domestic institution, let them be no longer the apostles of a vile sociology, the perpetrators of the uncleannest of all unclean things, and they will soon have the sympathy, co-operation, and material assistance of the great and good in the world in ridding themselves of the sin of human bondage.

Although from our inmost soul we abhor and detest slavery, yet we feel convinced that the ends of freedom will not be gained by the advocacy of ultra-abolition views. The slave-holders of America may be *persuaded* practically to adopt emancipatory ideas, but they will repel every movement savouring of *compulsion:* they cannot be dragooned on to the side of freedom. Their self-respect will not allow them to be coerced into liberating their slaves. For our own part, we advocate moderate measures.

We believe that slavery is a sin; that to reduce a free man to

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* Lord Brougham.

the condition of bondage is a crime of the deepest die; but still, so far as *American slavery* is concerned, we cannot hold that the *present* generation of slave-holders are entirely responsible for the existence of the institution; and neither can we, consequently, affirm that *slave-holding* is a sin *per se*. In discussing this question it should not be forgotten that the institution is an entailed one; that many of the present inheritors of property in negroes would rather have had their money invested in some other and safer security; and that though some "sell out," all cannot do so. That the negro has no right to be *held*, even, in bondage we believe to be a cardinal truth; but still it is unquestionable that any attempt made to enforce that truth, by extreme abolition measures, would be futile. Indeed, whether the seceded States remain out or rejoin the American Union, the attempt can never be made. The slave States themselves are alone responsible for the existence of slavery within their borders, and they only can initiate and carry out an emancipatory code. Though we have spoken thus leniently of *slave-holding*, we dare not extend the same lenity to either slave-*breeding* or slave-*dealing*. We know that these latter callings are denied; but though there may not be many (for there are some) people who literally and avowedly rear negroes for sale, still it is unquestionable that the main support of slavery in the border States is the extent and value of the domestic slave trade:—

"The King of Dahomey, on a certain occasion, admitted that he took captives in war, and that he sold into slavery the captives so taken; he admitted that the sale of the slaves afforded him his principal revenue; but he denied that he ever went to war for the purpose of procuring captives to be sold as slaves, and for the truth of this denial he vouched his own honour and the honour of all his ancestors.

The King of Dahomey, however, has found it impossible to allay the suspicions of mankind; and it will be equally impossible for Virginia, so long as the selling of slaves is her principal business, to avoid the imputation that she breeds them for sale, and especially when so many of her citizens do not scruple to avow it."*

But slave-*holding* is no longer sinless when a fair and reasonable opportunity has been offered and refused for the emancipation of the slave. The immediate liberation of the present servile population of the United States would, we are certain, be fraught with serious consequences, and it is for this reason that we say that slave-holding is not a crime *per se;* but if the slave-owners refuse to entertain a reasonable scheme of manumission—if, for instance, the Legislature of Missouri was to pass an emancipatory code, such as to be perfectly satisfactory to the majority of the slave-owners, and if the minority, being dissentients, instead of complying with the law, were to evade it by emigrating with their "property" from the State before the provisions of the Act came into operation, they would as clearly be guilty of the crime of man-stealing as the King of Dahomey; the sin would be as great as if they had taken so many people born to freedom, and carried them into slavery.

Foremost amongst the obstacles to freedom is the money part of the question. No scheme of emancipation will be entertained by even the least conservative of the slave States which does not *in some way* provide for the compensation of the masters. The negro is the principal species of Southern property. Of the $2,936,090,737 of real and personal estate possessed by the South in 1850, $1,600,000,000, or more than one-half, was the

* Weston's *Progress of Slavery, &c.*, p. 42.

value of the slaves (3,200,000), calculated at an average of $500 per head. But during the last decade the value of slave property has increased about 100 per cent., and the number to only a few short of 4,000,000. If we say that the advance in price has been only 50 per cent. the average value would be $750 all round, old and young: this would give the enormous sum of $3,000,000,000, or £660,000,000! Total and immediate emancipation, without compensation, therefore, is impossible.

Governor Hammond has thus alluded to this branch of the topic, in a letter to Thomas Clarkson, some years ago:—

"Supposing that we were all convinced, and thought of slavery precisely as you do, at what era of 'moral suasion' do you imagine you could prevail on us to give up a thousand millions of dollars in the value of our slaves, and a thousand millions of dollars more in the depreciation of our lands in consequence of the want of labourers to cultivate them? Consider: were ever any people, civilized or savage, persuaded by any argument, human or divine, to surrender, voluntarily, two thousand million dollars? Would you think of asking five millions of Englishmen to contribute, either at once or gradually, four hundred and fifty millions of pounds sterling to the cause of philanthropy? . . . You see the absurdity of such an idea. Away, then, with your pretended 'moral suasion.' You know it is mere nonsense."

Besides the financial crisis which would be the result of a forced abolition after the Lloyd Garrison and Helper fashion, there would be the difficulty of dealing with a mass of beings in a state of comparative barbarism—the negroes, *from no fault of their own*, but owing to the prohibitory laws and pernicious influence of slavery, being wholly uneducated, and altogether without any notion of responsibility. The negro slave is a very different being from what he is generally represented in this country. It is a remarkable fact that the majority of English visitors to the slave States of America return home with consi-

derably modified views as to the abilities and condition of the negro. The same is the case with intelligent travellers from the North. Mr. Olmsted, in his last volume, says :—

"The field-hand negro is, on an average, a very poor and a very bad creature, much worse than I had supposed before I had seen him and grown familiar with his stupidity, indolence, duplicity and sensuality. He seems to be but an imperfect man, incapable of taking care of himself in a civilized manner, and his presence in large numbers must be considered a dangerous circumstance to a civilized people.

"A civilized people, within which a large number of such creatures has been placed by any means not within its own control, has claims upon the charity, the aid if necessary, of all other civilized peoples in its endeavours to relieve itself from the danger which must be apprehended from their brutal propensities, from the incompleteness of their human sympathies, their inhumanity, from their natural love of ease, and the barbaric want of forethought and providence, which would often induce desperate want amongst them. Evidently the people thus burthened would have need to provide systematically for the physical wants of these poor creatures, else the latter would be liable to prey with great waste upon their substance."*

But the evils which it is here contemplated would follow immediate liberation, could be provided against by a system of gradual emancipation. The lazy inclinations of the negroes, their improvidence, their animal propensities, their general rascality, and their confused notions of *meum* and *tuum*, are the results, not of their *nature*, but of their *condition as slaves*. They have not only no inducement to improve themselves, but they are positively prevented from doing so. Give the negro an interest in the results of his labour—throw open to him the various avenues of knowledge, and the African population of America would present a very different aspect than it does now.

The slave is lazy, it is said: why should he be industrious? Will *he* gain by the employment of extra exertions? The slave

* *A Journey in the Back Country*, p. 432.

is not remunerated according to his services. If a negro be intelligent, industrious, and faithful to his owner, he derives no benefit from such conduct; it simply adds a few hundred dollars to his value as an article of commerce, and, if his master be poor, increases his chances of being sold, and, probably, falling into the hands of a tyrannical owner. There are plenty of Mr. Shelbys and Mr. Haleys in the South. But, it is replied, the negro is *naturally* a lazy being, and will not work except when forced to do so—no amount of money will stimulate him to acquire habits of industry. Here we join issue: for experience shows that, with fair treatment and fair pay, the negro *will* work, and work hard too. Mr. Olmsted was told by tobacco manufacturers in Virginia that the negroes "could not be *driven* to do a fair day's work so easily as they could be stimulated to it by the offer of a bonus for all they would manufacture above a certain number of pounds."* A sugar-planter of Louisiana adopted the plan of, at Christmas, dividing amongst his slaves a sum of money equal to one dollar for each hogshead of sugar made during the year: the labourers had thus a direct interest in the economical direction of their labour, and the advantage of the arrangement was said to be very evident. This plan is not uncommon throughout Louisiana, and the negroes of that State are, therefore, more industrious than the general run of slaves in other portions of the South; they are also more intelligent, because the laws of the State are much more favourable to them than the enactments of the other States. "Men of

* *A Journey in the Sea-board Slave States*, p. 127.

sense," says Mr. Olmsted, writing from Louisiana, "have discovered that when they desire to get extraordinary exertions from their slaves, it is better to offer them rewards than to whip them: to encourage them rather than to drive them." The same mode of treatment has also a beneficial influence upon the morality of the slave. Where the masters are most considerate and liberal towards their slaves, there the slaves show themselves worthy of trust most.*

The free negro population of the States is often brought forward as evidence of the natural inability of the African to raise himself in society; but here again the low status is not the effect of any essential inferiority of the negro, but of the mode in which his advancement is opposed by the white people. Still, persecuted and despised as they are, their condition will bear examining, which is more than can be said for a large number of the white population. Respecting the free negroes of New York, Mr. Olmsted says that among the thousands of applicants for charity during "the famine" he did not see one free negro; and the cause was attributed to the fact that the African was more provident, and always managed to keep himself more decent and comfortable than the poor whites.† Mr. Stirling was agreeably surprised with the intelligence and prosperity of the Northern free coloured people, and found some with whom he conversed to be men of superior minds and some education.‡

In addition to the readiness of the negro to work, and his

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* *A Journey in the Sea-board Slave States*, pp. 108, 447, 660 and 669.
† *Ibid.*, p. 704. ‡ *Letters from the Slave States*, p. 53.

capacity for taking care of himself, evidence is not wanted to show that he is not deficient in mental powers. All over the South Mr. Olmsted was shown specimens of slaves who had exhibited great aptitude in mastering various mechanical trades, and in learning to read and write; proving that the elevation of the negro is not that impossible thing his self-laudatory white fellow-man would have us believe. One Mississippi planter told Mr. Olmsted that negroes, when they had the opportunity, learned *quicker* than white men; a second testified that they were naturally ingenious, "more so than white folks;" and a third, of larger experience, said, "he knew hosts of negroes who showed extraordinary talents, considering their opportunities: there were a great many in this part of the country who could read and write, and calculate mentally, as well as the general run of white men who had been to schools."* In South Carolina a rice planter "pointed out some carpenter's work, a part of which had been executed by a New England mechanic and a part by one of his own hands, which indicated that the latter was much the better workman." Several similar cases are mentioned by Mr. Olmsted in his "Journeys."

But though there are many exceptions to the generally degraded condition of the slaves, still they are far from being sufficiently numerous to justify an universal emancipation. The great majority of the negroes are better off in bondage than they would be if liberated without preparation for the change. The

* *A Journey in the Back Country*, pp. 143, 151, 181. *Sea-board Slave States*, p. 426.

slaves must be educated, civilized, and, above all, Christianized, before they are sent into the world to seek their own livelihood; otherwise, freedom would be the ruin of the South, and a curse to the slaves themselves. Slavery, and its effects, are the growth of centuries, and *cannot* be eradicated in a *day*, unless by a miracle.

A wholesale expatriation has been suggested by some as the best remedy of the South; but such a movement would be impossible, and if possible would be impolitic. That the negro race had never any business on the American continent we firmly believe; but still a large portion of the race *is* there, and there it will have to remain, for two very potent reasons: first, that the majority would object to removal; and, secondly, that their labour is required for the cultivation of the land.

Notwithstanding the political and social disabilities of the free negroes of the North, they still cling to the land of their birth, and would resent any attempt at forced transportation. And so it is with the slaves. Their love of country is embodied in their simple, but beautiful melodies, and their fondness for the land of their birth is even more intense than that of the white man. At a public meeting held at New Bedford, Massachusetts, on the 16th June, 1858, the free coloured men expressed their anti-colonization notions very decidedly. One of the resolutions passed at the meeting was as follows:--

"We believe the design is, now more than ever before, to make our grievances permanent, by greatly multiplying the disabilities under which we labour; nevertheless, we are determined to remain in this country, our right and title being as clear and indisputable as that of any class of people."

With gradual emancipation the prejudices of caste would be overcome by degrees; the lowest type of the African would die out, and the remainder, through the mulatto population, would in time disappear by admixture with the white races. We know that this idea is indignantly repelled by Americans, and that the majority of them say that amalgamation is impossible; but we know likewise that amalgamation *does* take place, and that to a large extent. In the year 1850 there were 434,495 free coloured people in the United States, and out of these 150,095, or more than one-third, were mulattoes or half-breeds, leaving 275,400 only of the true negro type, or, rather, modified negro type, for the real "Congo nigger" has died out some years past. But a fact noticed at the census of 1850 leads us to infer that the above figures convey only a partial idea of the assimilating process going on. Mr. De Bow found that between the years 1840 and 1850 there had been a large decrease in the coloured population of New Orleans, and he suggests that the circumstance might be traceable to two causes: first, an error in the census figures of 1840; and, secondly, the returning in 1850 in the "white" column of a number of the mulatto inhabitants, or their progeny, which, of right, belonged to the "coloured" column, either themselves or their parents being returned in the latter column in 1840: the cause of the change being the impossibility of distinguishing them from the pure whites. Now, it is known that the free coloured population of the whole Union increased at a less rate than either the slaves or whites: may not the cause be the same throughout the States as at New Orleans? If not, what is the cause? It won't do for the white people to blame the

census compilers, for probably if they were the most skilled ethnologists the result would not be materially altered.

The slave population itself does not escape this amalgamating process. It is no uncommon occurrence for a run-away slave to be advertised as one "who will endeavour to pass himself off for a white man," whose hair is "long," and whose face is "pale." On a large plantation in Mississippi Mr. Olmsted saw a slave girl perfectly white, "with hair straight and sandy;" and he was told that "it was not uncommon to see slaves so white that they could not be easily distinguished from pure-blooded whites." An overseer on the above estate told Mr. Olmsted that he had never been on a plantation before that had not *more than one* white slave on it.* A Virginian, writing to Mr. Helper, states, that should an advocate of amalgamation make his appearance in that State he would certainly be in receipt of a coat of tar and feathers; but that, spite of the hate of the *theory*, the *practice* of amalgamation was common:—"In some of our towns and villages more than half the coloured population are of mixed blood; and such is the state of things, to a greater or less extent, throughout the entire South, as far as I have travelled. Thus, in this respect, truth compels me to make the humiliating concession, that Virginia *practice* is worse than Massachusetts *theory*."† Mr. William Chambers, in his "Slavery and Colour in America," remarks that, "the prodigious and irregular amalgamation of races in the South, with the deterioration and helplessness of

* *A Journey in the Back Country*, p. 90.

† See Helper's *Impending Crisis of the South*, p. 399.

the less affluent class of whites in the slave-holding States, has, as may be supposed, led to a pretty nearly pure, nay, absolutely pure breed of white slaves."

Thus, disagreeable as the idea may be to the white people of America, amalgamation *does* take place, and it is simply nonsense on their part to say it *can't*.

Lastly, no scheme of manumission would be successful which did not provide for the prospective liberation of the present generation of slaves. The Northern States mostly procured the freedom of their negroes by declaring all born after a certain specified date to be free; but the carrying out of the same idea in the present slave States would be impracticable. When the free States introduced their emancipatory measures, the amount of their slave population was a mere fraction compared with that of the South at the present time. The total number of slaves in the North in 1790 did not reach 50,000, and they were spread over a large extent of territory. But the Southerner has to deal with 4,000,000, so concentrated as to outnumber the white population in some districts. This difficulty presented itself to De Tocqueville, thirty years ago:—

"It is evident," says he, "that the most Southern States of the Union cannot abolish slavery without incurring very great dangers, which the North had no reason to apprehend when it emancipated its black population. We have already shown the system by which the Northern States secured the transition from slavery to freedom, by keeping the present generation in chains, and setting their descendants free; by this means the negroes are gradually introduced into society; and whilst the men who might abuse their freedom are kept in a state of servitude, those who are emancipated may learn the art of being free before they become their own masters. But it would be difficult to apply this method to the South. *To declare that all negroes born after a certain period shall be free, is to introduce the principle and notion of liberty into the heart of slavery: the blacks whom the law*

thus maintains in a state of slavery from which their children are delivered are astonished at so unequal a fate, and their astonishment is only the prelude to impatience and irritation. Thenceforward slavery loses, in their eyes, that kind of moral power which it derived from time and habit; it is reduced to mere palpable abuse of force. The Northern States had nothing to fear from the contrast, because in them the blacks were few in number, and the white population was very considerable. *But if this faint dawn of freedom were to show two millions of men their true position, the oppressors would have reason to tremble.* After having enfranchised the children of their slaves, the Europeans of the Southern States would very shortly be obliged to extend the same benefit to the whole black population."*

It is clear, then, that abolitionists, to be successful, must provide, not only for the freedom of the future progeny of the slaves, but must likewise make provision for the liberation of the negroes now in bondage. It is evident that, from the frequent occurrence of insurrections in all parts of the South, the Government experiences considerable difficulty in its endeavours to preserve the peace. Probably the majority of the slaves, from their ignorance and the destruction of every feeling akin to aspiration, are content with their situation; but there is, doubtless, a large number who are hoping and waiting for a favourable opportunity to shake off their chains, and whose first movement would stir up the more indolent. To tell them, therefore, that they must be content to remain in bondage all their lives, but that their children shall be free, would only tend to exasperate the character of their position, and render them more miserable than ever. They would not fail to perceive that they were held as slaves, not by right, but by might. Hitherto, sup-

* *Democracy in America.* By Alexis de Tocqueville, translated by Henry Reeve, Esq. London, 1835. Vol. ii., pp. 346 and 347.

ported by hope, they have borne their bonds with wonderful patience; but now, deserted by that "anchor of the soul," they would be driven to distraction, and, by their unrestrained feelings, forced into a terrible rebellion—a rebellion of such a magnitude and determined a character as could only be carried on by men having everything to gain and nothing to lose.

The accomplishment of emancipation, it will be seen, then, is no easy matter; but still the object can be attained if the proper means be adopted. We have no exclusively infallible panacea, or entirely original scheme, to offer; but the suggestions contained in the following chapter may not be considered unworthy of consideration.

CHAPTER II.

The Practicability of Emancipation.

The first step towards the final eradication of an evil is to restrict it. If a fire breaks out in a thickly-populated community, the first care of the firemen is to secure the safety of the surrounding property from the impending danger; this done, his exertions are then turned upon the scene of destruction, until the devastating element is finally subdued. So it is with slavery: if ever the institution is to be got rid of, a limit must be put to its extension. Slavery limited would be more easily dealt with than slavery unlimited. The founders of the American Republic saw this, and, as a first movement, abolished the importation of negroes, expecting that with the cutting off of the external supply the profits of domestic slavery would be reduced, and the inducements for its further extension withdrawn. But subsequent experience has shown that there was a vitality in the system which had never been anticipated, and that, thrown upon its own resources, the institution has flourished even greater than during the period of "free trade."

The primary cause of this was the growing importance of the cotton culture, which, by increasing the demand for slaves at the

very time when the external supply was cut off, enhanced the value of those in the country, and induced their owners to treat them with greater care than probably they had previously been used to. So long as the import trade was brisk, it mattered very little how the negroes were treated; for, if "used up," they could be easily and cheaply replaced; but deprived of a constant means of repairing the wear and tear of life, the slave consumers soon saw that the "using-up" system would not pay: hence the rise of the modern "breeding" economy, which, as already explained, soon became the principal avocation of the northern, or border, slave States.

Much has been written about the ill-treatment of the slaves in the United States; but we believe that the American slave-owners have never, either before or since the abolition of the external traffic, even approached the barbarity of the British slave-owners of the West Indies. The vital statistics of the United States show that the deaths amongst the slaves have never exceeded the births; whilst in most of the West India Islands the births have rarely, if ever, exceeded the deaths; so that whilst, in the one case, the population has been increasing hand over hand, in the other, down to the year of emancipation, the tendency was the reverse.

In 1790 the number of slaves in those States of the Union which retained the institution was 648,640; in 1810 they had risen to 1,160,111, being an increase of 79 per cent. In 1830 the number was 2,002,965, or 73 per cent. more than twenty years previously: the decline of 6 per cent. being the result mainly, no doubt, of the extinction of the import trade in 1808. Thus proving that even before the last-named event, the South-

erners did not "consume" their negro imports as fast as they arrived.

Now, compare this with the figures relating to Jamaica. Mr. Martin, in his "History of the Colonies of the British Empire," says that, for the first three-quarters of the eighteenth century, half a million of negroes were imported into Jamaica, of which 130,000 were re-exported, but that of the remainder *not more than* 19,000 *were alive in* 1775. "For at least fifty years it was computed that Jamaica required an annual supply of 10,000 slaves to provide against the wear and tear of life that went on!" In 1788 the number of slaves was 256,000; by 1808 they had risen to 323,827; they progressed slowly until 1817, when the maximum number was reached, viz., 346,150; but from that date the course was downwards: the figures for 1826 being 331,119, though only 4,782 manumissions had taken place, and for 1837, the year of emancipation, 311,692. Had the negro population of Jamaica been as prolific from 1817 to 1837 as that of the United States from 1810 to 1830, their numbers in 1837 would have been—after allowing 10,000 for manumissions—591,539, instead of only 311,692. What a tale of cruelty and oppression do these figures tell!

Most of the West India Islands figure little better than Jamaica: some quite as bad. Barbadoes, however, stands out an exception: her slaves in 1817 numbered 77,494; in 1823, 78,816; in 1829, 81,902; and in 1837, 82,807; whilst about 5,000 manumissions had taken place—2,628 occurred between 1817 and 1832, of which 1,089 were in the last three years; and it is a fact that at the present time this island is the most

prosperous of all our West Indian colonies. Verily, every sin has its Nemesis, and every virtue its reward!

As soon as the abolitionists of America discovered the non-realization of their anticipations from the discontinuance of the African slave-trade, and became aware of the immense strides of progress slavery was making notwithstanding the prohibition, they at once turned their attention to other means of stemming the tide, viz., geographical restriction and negro emigration. For the first half of the present century the contest was carried on with vigour; but the leaders of the cause of freedom were but coldly supported by the Northern people, and the victory was uniformly on the side of the South; for, during the sixty years ending with 1850, the territory of slavedom, and the number of slaves, increased about fourfold; and the power of the slave-holders—the fruit of superior tact and unity of purpose—had defeated the efforts of the free-soilers to prevent the incorporation of new slave States; and the African colonization scheme proved a signal failure.

But the overbearing attitude of the slave-holders between 1850 and 1860, has at last aroused the free States to a sense of their duty, and the long-talked-of restriction of the possessions of slavery may now be said to have arrived; for, whatever may be the result of the present sectional dispute—whether there be one or two Confederacies—the Southerners may rest assured that the maximum dominion and power of slavedom has been reached. Whether the South remains in the Union, or is allowed to go out of it, not one yard more of slave territory will be added to its domains.

The slave-holders *already possess* the *whole* of the lands which can be profitably cultivated by their system of labour. Great efforts have been made to give the institution a firm footing in the territories of New Mexico and Utah; but the entire power of the South has failed to accomplish that object. During the ten years ending 1860, the number of slaves in Utah only increased from 26 to 29; and at the last census there were but 24 slaves in New Mexico, of whom one-half only were domiciled: simply because free labour pays better, and there are no cotton, rice, and sugar lands to work up and abandon, as in the Atlantic and Gulf States.

The Southerners thought that they would get California; but the people of that State disappointed them, and the incipient States of New Mexico and Utah will follow the example of the gold regions; and Western Texas, now peopled by slavery-hating Germans, will slide off in the same direction; so that, probably, in another decade—or, at all events, two decades—we shall see slavedom completely surrounded by thriving communities of freemen.

It is possible that no *immediate* effect would follow the restriction of the territory of niggerdom; but in time, the slave population would increase to such an extent as to reduce its value as "property;" the tendency of which would be to lessen, and finally to do away with, the profits of slave-breeding. The cotton States would find themselves fully stocked with labour, and entirely independent of external assistance, and would, consequently, cease to be consumers of the produce of the breeding States, except at—to the latter—unremunerative prices. The

slave-owners of the border States would soon become burthened with a large surplus stock of negroes, and in the absence of a remunerative market, either at the South or at home, would no longer resist the introductiom of an emancipatory code.

Whatever may be the future relations between the present free and slave States, whether they continue together under a common Government, or exist as separate Confederacies, the South will have to work out its own redemption ; not only because of the supremacy of each State in the management of its own domestic affairs, but because of the high spirit of the Southerners, which will prevent them from allowing any interference, or accepting any assistance, other than moral approbation, from outsiders.

The nature of the case demands that the reform, to be effectual in securing the best good to both masters and slaves, should be introduced by degrees. The change from serfdom and feudalism, in Europe, to freedom, was so gradual, and spread over so great a length of time, that it is impossible to trace the transition point. Lord Macaulay, speaking of the social progress of England, says :—

" The change, great as it was, was the effect of gradual development, not of demolition and reconstruction. The exorbitant power of the Barons was gradually reduced, and the condition of the peasants gradually elevated." " That revolution which put an end to property in man, was silently and imperceptibly effected."*

The first step would be to clear away all obstacles to the introduction of the new era. The laws which prohibit individual emancipation ; those which refuse negro (free or slave) evidence

* *History of England*, vol. i., pp. 21 and 23.

in the courts of justice; and all those which support the shameful proposition that "the black man has no rights which the white man is bound to respect," must be immediately repealed, or the amelioration of the race will be impossible.

The laws of Cuba are far more favourable towards the slave than are those of the Southern States of America. *One-fourth* of the negroes in the island are free, and any slave desiring to purchase his own freedom, or who can find any one else willing to do so for him, can go to a magistrate, have himself valued, and close the contract, even though his owner may object thereto. There is no occasion for the liberation-money to be paid down at once; it may be paid in instalments of not less than fifty dollars each. When once free, the negro can attain to a better position in society than can his brethren in America:—

"In point of privilege," says Mr. Dana, "the free blacks are quite the equals of the whites. In courts of law, as witnesses or parties, no difference is known; and they have the same rights as to the holding of lands and other property."*

In Southern law-courts the case is the reverse of this: no black man can be a competent witness against a white man:—

"This principle," says a writer in *The North American Review*, for May, 1853, "is founded on the vulgar idea that a suit at law is a hostile attack, and, therefore, that the evidence of a negro supporting such an attack is derogatory to the dignity of the white man." "The first object of all legal proceedings is to investigate the facts, in order to apply the law—to discover the truth; and this principle shuts out the truth. Cannot a negro tell what he knows, and describe what he has seen or heard?" "Is there any danger that he will be too easily believed, when his testimony is against a white man? and are not the rules of evidence sufficient to protect the jury from falsehood and deception?"

Having paved the way by removing all obstructions, the move-

* *To Cuba and Back*, p. 217.

ment should be followed up by more positive measures. Of course isolated individual efforts would be powerless. To insure success to the undertaking the reform must be systematized, and made legal by the State Government. The total prohibition of slave-dealing, in all its phases, would, perhaps, be the best introductory enactment. No slave should be sold, except with the consent of the negro interested, who, there is no doubt, might turn a transfer of his person considerably to his own advantage, either by agreeing with his new master for a limited, instead of a life period of servitude, or by receiving a money bounty, to be invested towards purchasing his entire emancipation. This would put a stop to the separation of families; it would also bring an end to negro speculations, and do away with slave auctions, and the brutal scenes witnessed thereat.

The erroneous and odious principle which treats the negro as "property" must be eradicated. No man has a right to hold property in the person of his fellow-man, in the sense in which the word property is conventionally understood:—

"A slave," says a writer just quoted, "is not property, because he is a man. A man cannot be the subject of property, though his labour may. He is not a thing. Even in the lowest forms of humanity he has intellect, passions, sentiments, conscience, which establish his brotherhood with all men, which establish the theoretic equality of man as man, and separate him from the lower animals and material things. To man, to the race of men, the earth was given as an inheritance. Whatever he can make, or modify, or add value to, is property. But man was not given to man to possess. He is not a product of industry, but himself a producer."*

Henceforward the use of the term "slave" should be discontinued, and the negro denominated in the phraseology of the

* *The North American Review*, vol. lxxvii., p. 479.

"Constitution," as a "person held to hire," "held to labour," &c., having his conduct ruled by laws similar to those which touch the condition of apprentices. The obligations between masters and servants should no longer be one-sided and arbitrary, but mutual: the negro rendering service to the farmer or planter, in return for protection, comfortable board and lodging, and education religious and secular.

Instead of the present forcing system, a scale of piece-work should be adopted; the servant to be paid for any extra exertion, the money to be appropriated by himself towards the purchase of his liberty. By the introduction of some such a plan as this, the most intelligent of the slaves would become free in a very short space of time; whilst the least intelligent and most indolent would probably continue in a state of apprenticeship throughout their lives; and the difficulty of dealing with a multitude of half-civilized Africans, which would arise if they were liberated *en masse*, would be obviated.

Under the code suggested, both the contracting parties should be amenable to the State authorities. The law should be ordered so as to secure the master his full due, but at the same time to see that the rights of the servant be respected. Anything in the shape of cruelty to the servant should be severely punished; in extreme or oft-repeated cases by the emancipation of the victim. On the other hand, provision should be made for the protection of the master, and power should be given to him to sell a wilfully vicious negro. The domestic relations amongst the negroes must be respected; and any offence in this direction be met by the same penalties provided for the protection of the

white man. The authority of the master over the young children of his servants should be secondary to that of the parents. All children born during the servitude of their parents should be considered free, provided their maintenance in food and clothing, and the expense of their education, are borne by their parents; but if the provision of these necessaries falls to the lot of the master, he should be reimbursed by the service of the child, until it had attained the age of twenty-one years.

With the introduction of ameliorative measures, similar in spirit, if not in letter, to the above outline, there would follow not only a great change in the relations between the present slave-owners and their slaves, but there would likewise be inaugurated a happy reconciliation between the free and slave sections of the American States. The change in the former respect would be silently, and almost imperceptibly made; but the effect upon the people of the Northern and Southern States would be instantaneous. The negro, no longer a "slave," but a "labourer," or an "apprentice"—no longer under the arbitrary control of his master, but under the protection of the Government and laws of the land—would be raised in the scale of society, and labour in general would be rendered more honourable in the estimation of the white population. The odium of slavery would be gone, and the Northern abolitionist lecturer would be obliged to give up the "stump," and find some other subject to "ventilate." The people of the slave States could say of the negroes: "We have this race amongst us; they are bound to us, and we to them, for good and for evil. To get rid of them is impossible: to emancipate them equally so. It would

involve calamities far worse than slavery to us and to them. The only thing that remains for us to do is to take care of them—to govern them for our welfare and their own; and that we are doing—that we mean to do."* The people of the free States, knowing that the position of the negro was improved, that his grievances were redressed, and that his absolute freedom could be obtained by his own exertions if he chose, would give up their violent denunciations of the Southerners: convinced that the masters had done all that lay in their power to better the condition of the blacks, they would give their undivided support to the new code; and feeling that the former had rights as well as the latter, they would see that, so far as they were concerned, both were protected; and, though they refuse to return fugitive *slaves*, they would willingly hand over fugitive *labourers* or runaway *apprentices*. The present want of cordiality between the two sections would cease instantly, and ultra-abolitionism would become as unpopular as extreme pro-slaveryism is now. Northern and Southern citizens, instead of irritating each other by intemperate sectional and personal criminations, would give their entire attention to promoting the general welfare of the *whole* Union. Secession would cease to exist, because it would have nothing to live upon.

The abandonment of the doctrine that slavery is right *per se*, and beneficial in fact, would lead the way to the final destruction of the institution, not only in the Southern States, but likewise in Cuba and the Brazils. The laws of the former island are

* *The North American Review*, vol. lxxvii., p. 486.

highly favourable to emancipation, and under them slave labour would cease to exist in the course of a generation or two; but they are rendered nugatory by the constant importation of new stock from Africa, which villainous trade cannot be put a stop to without the hearty co-operation of America along with the great European Powers. The Cubans know that though their traffic is denounced by England and France, it is winked at by the American government. But let them have the physical and moral opposition of the three greatest nations on the earth to contend against, and they would soon be obliged to succumb. And then, as to the Brazils, that empire would not be long in following the example of the United States; for already the social position of the free negro is far more honourable in the former country than in the latter, which of itself is a strong emancipatory element.

But, in conclusion, if the slave-holders of America refuse to reform their domestic institution, they must be content to be in receipt of the well-merited contempt of the entire of Christendom. As the upholders of the last relic of barbarism they must never expect to take rank with the civilized nations of the globe. "They must remain in a state of moral isolation from the rest of mankind, and behold pointed against them the whole artillery of the literature and opinion of the world." Whilst socially, religiously, commercially, and politically, their movements will partake rather of retrogression than progression.

SUPPLEMENTARY CHAPTER TO PART III.

COURSE OF EVENTS DURING THE FIRST THREE MONTHS OF PRESIDENT LINCOLN'S ADMINISTRATION.

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Course of Events during the First Three Months of President Lincoln's Administration.

For something like a month after the inauguration of President Lincoln the course of events was not marked by any important movement—matters were rather drifting than being impelled. The whole political atmosphere was in a state of intense excitement and expectation; and the public one day had no means of judging what might be the events of the next twenty-four hours. Everything was in the dark. President Lincoln and his Cabinet, contrary to general American precedents, and much to the annoyance of the newspaper correspondents—who, in consequence, drew freely upon their imagination for matter to fill up their daily letters—kept their own counsels; and even when, indirectly, anything they said did oozo out, no one seemed to be able to interpret the oracle. Several attempts were made to draw the Administration out, but the only answer that could be obtained was, that the policy of the Government was announced in the President's inaugural Message. Here the public was just as far off as ever: what it wanted was an *explanation* of the inaugural. People read it, and re-read it, and yet without being able to arrive at any conclusion satisfactory to themselves. Some

said it meant coercion, others concession—some peace, others war. Many who read it to-day, and pronounced it a pacific document, reversed their opinion with a second reading on the morrow, and *vice versâ*.

Various reports, got up by the writers of "sensation" paragraphs, contributed to increase the excitement and augment the impatience of the public: to-day a ray of brightness would appear amidst the predominating gloom—to-morrow, all would be darkness again. Now Forts Sumpter and Pickens were to be evacuated, now they were to be reinforced; now the Southern Commissioners were to be negotiated with, now they were to be refused an interview; now the revenue was to be collected at the South, now it was not; now the ports of the seceding States were to be blockaded, now they were not. And every report was given on the "best," or the "highest," or the most "unquestionable" authority.

With such an equivocal state of things, it is not surprising, perhaps, that the press of both America and this country, with few exceptions, denounced what they called the "inactivity," "timorousness," "suicidal imbecility," and so forth, of the Government; but subsequent events have shown that President Lincoln was quietly feeling his way and maturing his plans, and that the leading organs of both sides of the Atlantic have been wofully mistaken in their estimations of the ability and intentions of the Republican Cabinet.

The peculiar circumstances of the case required that the Government should perform its operations as unostentatiously as possible. Situated as it was amidst doubtful friends, and closely

scrutinized by its most bitter enemies, it was necessary that it should be guarded in its expressions and actions. Besides, its energies had been crippled, to a very great extent, by the treacherous doings of Floyd and Co., who, before resigning their portfolios under Buchanan, had placed all the arms and ammunition they could lay their hands upon, without exciting suspicion, either within easy reach of the Southerners, or almost beyond the reach of the Government: thus devolving upon the new Administration an immense amount of labour, requiring much time for its performance, which would otherwise have been unnecessary. All this could have been prevented had Buchanan done his duty. He has much to answer for!

The one object held in view by Lincoln, from the first, was the preservation of the Union. This he was desirous of attaining by peaceful means, if possible; but if not possible by peaceful means, he was determined to employ force: this is clear. But such was the helpless condition of Government at the commencement of its career, that to have laid bare the plans it intended to carry out, under certain contingencies, would have resulted in certain disaster to the Union. For whilst the Secessionists had been long preparing for war, the Government was as unprepared as it possibly could be.

To suppose that Lincoln and his Cabinet, for a moment, ever contemplated to allow the seceding States to peacefully withdraw from the Union is absurd; yet down to the beginning of April this was a very current idea; and even when it was announced, on the 2nd of April, that the Federal army and navy were being hurriedly put on a war footing, that preparations

for a gigantic military and naval expedition were being made, the opinion was very general that the movement was for the purpose of opposing the designs of Spain upon St. Domingo; and a large portion of the public, especially in the border States, looked upon the outbreak of war with a foreign power as just the thing to rally the discontented elements of the Union round the national flag, and by means of a war in the Gulf with a common enemy, sink the internecine strife, and make way for a glorious reconciliation of the South to the old Confederation. Others, again, with more reason, thought that the ships and troops being got ready were intended for the assistance of General Houston, in Texas, who was being threatened by invasion from some of the Mexican States.

But Jefferson Davis and his co-operators did not fail to apprehend the real purport of the Government's intentions, and they proceeded forthwith to strengthen their various military positions, and resolved at once to bombard Forts Sumpter and Pickens, should their immediate evacuation be refused by the United States troops garrisoned therein, and then march north with their victorious legions (for they never anticipated defeat). As a preliminary, the supplies to the former fort, hitherto received from Charleston, were cut off. This precipitated affairs. On the 8th April it was known at Charleston that the Government intended to send provisions and reinforcements to Major Anderson, and to place them in Fort Sumpter at all hazards. For that purpose three vessels of war, three transports, two steam-tugs, containing a large quantity of stores, ammunition, and 1,380 men and troops, left New York and Washington;

but before they had arrived at their destination hostilities had commenced.

On the 11th April General Beaureguard, on the part of the Southern Government, demanded the evacuation of the fort, to which Major Anderson replied, "*It is a demand with which I regret that my sense of honour and my obligations to my Government prevent my compliance.*" Fire was then at once opened, and Fort Sumpter was briskly shelled and cannonaded on its north, east, and south sides. Major Anderson replied vigorously; but owing to the smallness of his garrison, the very imperfect condition of his means of defence, and the limited supply of ammunition at his disposal, he was not able to withstand the overwhelming onslaught of his assailants, and in less than two days was forced to succumb, though with all honour to himself and his little band of patriots. In the mean time the relief fleet had arrived; but, owing to a storm outside the harbour, had not been able to complete its arrangements for assisting the gallant Major: it is said, however, that had he been able to hold out twelve hours longer, the history of the siege of Fort Sumpter would have been differently written.

At first it was said that the garrison were taken prisoners to Morris Island, but that Major Anderson had the honour conferred upon him of being made the guest of General Beaureguard, to whom, "as the representative of the Confederate Government," he surrendered his sword, but who politely refused to receive it. It was said also that Fort Sumpter was completely knocked to pieces; that no defending force, however strong, could have held out much longer than did Major Anderson;

and it was also said that not one of the besieging force was injured—not one killed, not one wounded. But the whole of these reports were the "inventions of the enemy." The brave little band never touched the shore, and were never for one moment in the position of prisoners; the sword of their heroic commander never left the hand of its owner; and the honour of the national flag was maintained unsullied, as will be seen on perusing the following report of the Major :—

"*Steamship Baltic, off Sandy Hook, April* 18, 1861.

"SIR,—Having defended Fort Sumpter for thirty-four hours, until the quarters were entirely burned, the main gates destroyed by fire, the gorge wall seriously injured, the magazine surrounded by flames, and its door closed from the effects of the heat, four barrels and three cartridges of powder only being available, and no provisions but pork remaining, I accepted terms of evacuation, offered by General Beaureguard, being the same offered by him on the 11th inst., prior to the commencement of hostilities, and marched out of the fort, Sunday afternoon, the 14th inst., with colours flying and drums beating, bringing away company and private property, and saluting my flag with fifty guns.

"ROBERT ANDERSON, Major First Artillery.

"Hon. S. CAMERON, Secretary of War, Washington, D. C."

As to the condition of Fort Sumpter, Dr. Russell, *The Times'* special correspondent, who visited the scene of action a few days after the battle was over, gives a true version of the aspect of things, in his letter of the 21st April, from which we make the following extract: before giving which, however, we may remark, that whilst Major Anderson had only 79 soldiers and 30 labourers at his command, the assailants had 5,125 men engaged at the various batteries, and 6,877 more in and about Charleston, whose services, if needed, would have been available at the shortest notice :—

"The walls of the fort are dented on all sides by shot marks, but in no instance was any approach made to a breach, and the greatest damage, at one of the angles on the south face, did not extend more than two feet into the masonry, which is of very fine brick. The parapet is, of course, damaged, but the casemate embrasures are uninjured. On landing at the wharf we perceived that the granite copings had suffered more than the brickwork, and that the stone had split up and splintered where it was struck. The ingenuity of the defenders was evident even here. They had no mortar with which to fasten up the stone slabs they had adapted as blinds to the windows of the unprotected south side, but Major Anderson, or his subordinate, Captain Foster, had closed the slabs in with lead, which he procured from some water piping, and had rendered them proof against escalade, which he was prepared also to resent by extensive mines laid under the wharf and landing-place, to be fired by friction-tubes and lines laid inside the work. He had also prepared a number of shells for the same purpose, to act as hand-grenades, with friction-tubes and lanyards, when hurled down from the parapet on his assailants. The entrance to the fort was blocked up by masses of masonry, which had been thrown down from the walls of the burnt barracks and officers' quarters along the south side. A number of men were engaged in digging up the mines at the wharf, and others were busied in completing the ruin of the tottering walls, which were still so hot that it was necessary to keep a hose of water playing on part of the brickwork. To an uninitiated eye it would seem as if the fort was untenable, but, in reality, in spite of the destruction done to it, a stout garrison, properly supplied, would have been in no danger from anything, except the explosion of the magazine, of which the copper door was jammed by the heat at the time of the surrender. Exclusive of the burning of the quarters and the intense heat, there was no reason for a properly handled and sufficient force to surrender the place. It is needless to say Major Anderson had neither one nor the other. He was in all respects most miserably equipped. His guns were without screws, scales, or tangents, so that his elevations were managed by rude wedges of deal, and his scales marked in chalk on the breach of the guns, and his distances and bearings scratched in the same way on the side of the embrasures. He had not a single fuse for his shells, and he tried in vain to improvise them by filling pieces of bored-out pine with caked gunpowder. His cartridges were out, and he was compelled to detail some of his few men to make them out of shirts, stockings, and jackets. He had not a single mortar, and he was compelled to the desperate expedient of planting long guns in the ground at an angle of 45 degrees, for which he could find no shell, as he had no fuses which could be fired with safety. He had no sheers to mount his guns, and chance alone enabled him to do so by drifting some large logs down with the tide against Sumpter: Finally, he had not even one engine to put out a fire in quarters. I walked carefully over the parade and could detect the marks of only seven shells in the ground, but Major Whiting told me the orders were to burst the shells over the parapet so as to frustrate any attempt to work the barbette guns. Two of these were injured by shot, and one

was overturned, apparently by its own recoil, but there was no injury done inside any of the casemates to the guns or works. The shell splinters had all disappeared, carried off, I am told, as 'trophies.' *Had Major Anderson been properly provided, so that he could have at once sent his men to the guns, opened fire from those in barbette, thrown shell and hot shot, kept relays to all his casemates, and put out fires as they arose from red-hot shot or shell, he must, I have no earthly doubt, have driven the troops off Morris Island, burnt out Fort Moultrie, and silenced the enemy's fire.* His loss might have been considerable; that of the Confederates must have been very great. As it was, not a life was lost by actual fire on either side. A week hence and it will be impossible for a fleet to do anything, except cover the descent of an army here, and they must lie off, at the least, four miles from the nearest available beach."

Dr. Russell, it will be seen, corroborates the report that "nobody was killed." Of course *The Times'* correspondent could only write from information given by parties on the spot, and they would take care that he should have no opportunity or reason, if they could prevent it, for questioning their dicta. Several statements have appeared in the New York journals that some hundreds were killed, and we believe that Dr. Russell will yet ferret out the truth.

When the news of the fall of Fort Sumpter reached the North the indignation of the people was completely roused. So long as the Southerners had maintained a purely defensive policy, they had the sympathy of a large number of the citizens of the free States; but the first aggressive movement, with the threat of still further ones, had the effect of sinking all party distinctions, and of uniting the whole people in the defence of the honour of the national flag. The North all along had been slow to move, but when it did move it was with an enthusiastic celerity, such as the most sanguine Unionists had never anticipated. The fact that the Union was really in danger seemed now for the first time to impress itself upon the minds of the people, and letters

from all quarters were sent to the President urging him to take energetic measures for the preservation of the Confederacy. On the 15th April the first war proclamation was issued by the President as follows:—

"BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

"A PROCLAMATION.

"Whereas the laws of the United States have been for some time past, and now are opposed, and the execution thereof obstructed, in the States of South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Florida, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Texas, by combinations too powerful to be suppressed by the ordinary course of judicial proceedings, or by the powers vested in the marshals by law;

"Now, therefore, I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, in virtue of the power in me vested by the Constitution and the laws, have thought fit to call forth, and hereby do call forth, the militia of the several States of the Union, to the aggregate number of 75,000, in order to suppress said combinations, and to cause the laws to be duly executed.

"The details for this object will be immediately communicated to the State authorities through the War Department. I appeal to all loyal citizens to favour, facilitate, and aid this effort to maintain the power, the integrity, and the existence of our national Union and the perpetuity of popular government, and to redress wrongs already long enough endured.

"I deem it proper to say that the first service assigned to the forces hereby called forth will probably be to repossess the forts, places, and property which have been seized from the Union; and in every event the utmost care will be observed, consistently with the objects aforesaid, to avoid any devastation, any destruction of, or interference with property, or any disturbance of peaceful citizens in any part of the country; and I hereby command the persons composing the combinations aforesaid to disperse and retire peaceably to their respective abodes within twenty days from this date.

"Believing that the present condition of public affairs presents an extraordinary occasion, I do hereby, in virtue of the power in me vested by the Constitution, convene both Houses of Congress. The senators and representatives are therefore summoned to assemble at their respective Chambers at twelve o'clock noon, on Thursday, the 4th day of July next, then and there to consider and determine such measures as, in their wisdom, the public safety and interest may seem to demand.

"In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

"Done at the City of Washington this 15th day of April, in the year of our Lord 1861, and of the Independence of the United States the 85th.

"By the President,

"ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

"WILLIAM H. SEWARD, Secretary of State."

The call of "Old Abe" was promptly responded to. Men and money poured in from all quarters, five or six times the number of men required came forward to offer themselves for service, and the patriotic contributions of the States and individual citizens amounted to over $23,000,000 in less than three weeks.

The first regiment that moved South was one from Massachusetts. On its arrival at Baltimore, an organized mob of indigenous rowdies opposed its passage through the city. At first the brave sons of the little Bay State bore the affront very patiently, but before they reached the railway station whence they were to depart for Washington, they had to turn upon, and disperse, their contemptible assailants. The result was the loss of several lives, of whom two belonged to the Massachusetts men.

This occurrence, as might be expected, created a great sensation throughout the North, and a second Massachusetts regiment was soon ready to resent the insult. In the mean time the governor of Maryland, though he had no sympathy with the Baltimorean mob, suggested to the United States Government the propriety of bringing no more troops through the State, or, at all events, through the rebellious region, but President Lincoln replied that, reluctant as he was to be the cause of annoyance to the Marylanders, the city of Washington must be made

secure against threatened invasion, to do which a large supply of troops would be necessary, and as such troops could not be brought by any other route than one through Maryland, through Maryland they would have to come at all risks.

For some days the mob held the rule; the rails and bridges *en route* from Pennsylvania to Washington were torn up and destroyed, and a regular reign of terror existed at Baltimore. Shortly, however, a reaction took place, the loyal citizens became the masters, and on the 29th April, when a secessionist vote was put to the Legislature, it was rejected by a majority of 40—53 against 13. In the mean time troops continued to arrive from the North daily, and by these the roads were soon placed in good condition, and guarded from the possibility of injury, should any further rioting take place.

The energetic movements of the Government, and the patriotic uprising of the free States, had the effect of still further stimulating the exertions of the rebels, who previously had been labouring under the hallucination that they had such a number of supporters in the North as would prevent Lincoln from defending the Union. Jefferson Davis made a proclamation, stating his intention of issuing letters of marque. The Southern Congress had already passed a resolution which was tantamount to a repudiation of Northern debts, and now they proposed to give a premium to robbery on the high seas. The following are the resolution and proclamation alluded to :—

"THE COLLECTION OF DEBTS IN THE CONFEDERATE STATES.

"The Congress of the Confederate States do enact, That in the event of a conflict of arms between the Confederate States and the United States, or of refusal on

the part of the authorities of the United States to recognize the independence of the Confederate States, or to receive the Commissioners sent by the latter to treat with the former in relation to the several matters of the controversy existing between them, the courts of the Confederate States shall not take cognizance of any civil case in which the plaintiff is or may be in either of the said United States or either one of them, or any citizen or citizens thereof, or assignee or assignees, or endorsee or endorsees, or any such person.

"Section 2.—All pending cases in which the plaintiff shall be in either of the classes aforesaid, shall, upon the happening of either of the contingencies aforesaid, be dismissed on motion, and all process, mesne or final, which shall have been issued at the suit of such plaintiff, shall be arrested and decided inoperative."

"PROCLAMATION OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE CONFEDERATE STATES OF AMERICA.

"Whereas, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, has, by proclamation, announced intention of invading the Confederacy with an armed force for the purpose of capturing its fortresses, and thereby subverting its independence and subjecting the free people thereof to the dominion of a foreign power; and whereas, it has thus become the duty of this Government to repel the threatened invasion and defend the rights and liberties of the people by all the means which the laws of nations and usages of civilized warfare place at its disposal.

"Now, therefore, I, Jefferson Davis, President of the Confederate States of America, do issue this, my proclamation, inviting all those who may desire, by service in private armed vessels on the high seas, to aid this Government in resisting so wanton and wicked an aggression, to make application for commissions or letters of marque and reprisal, to be issued under the seal of these Confederate States; and I do further notify all persons applying for letters of marque, to make a statement in writing, giving the name and suitable description of the character, tonnage, and force of the vessel, name of the place of residence of each owner concerned therein, and the intended number of crew, and to sign each statement, and deliver the same to the Secretary of State or collector of the port of entry of these Confederate States, to be by him transmitted to the Secretary of State, and I do further notify all applicants aforesaid, before any commission or letter of marque is issued to any vessel, or the owner or the owners thereof, and the commander for the time being, they will be required to give bond to the Confederate States, with at least two responsible sureties not interested in such vessel, in the penal sum of five thousand dollars, or if such vessel be provided with more than one hundred and fifty men, then in the penal sum of ten thousand dollars, with the condition that the owners, officers, and crew who shall be employed on board such commissioned vessel shall observe the laws of these Confederate States, and the instructions given them for the regulation of their conduct, that shall satisfy all damages done contrary to the tenor thereof by such vessel during her commission,

and deliver up the same when revoked by the President of the Confederate States. And I do further specially enjoin on all persons holding offices, civil and military, under the authority of the Confederate States, that they be vigilant and zealous in the discharge of the duties incident thereto; and I do, moreover, exhort the good people of these Confederate States, as they love their country—as they prize the blessings of free Government—as they feel the wrongs of the past, and those now threatened in an aggravated form by those whose enmity is more implacable, because unprovoked—they exert themselves in preserving order, in promoting concord, in maintaining the authority and efficacy of the laws, and in supporting, invigorating all the measures which may be adopted for a common defence, and by which, under the blessings of Divine Providence, we may hope for a speedy, just, and honourable peace.

"In witness whereof I have set my hand, and have caused the seal of the Confederate States of America to be attached, this seventeenth day of April, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-one.

"JEFFERSON DAVIS.

"ROBERT TOOMBS, Secretary of State."

This document called forth a proclamation from President Lincoln, blockading the forts of the seceding States, which is thus summarized by the correspondent of the *New York Herald* :—

"*Washington, April* 19, 1861.

"The President has issued a proclamation stating that an insurrection against the Government of the United States has broken out in the States of South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Florida, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Texas, and the law of the United States for the collection of the revenue cannot be effectually executed therein conformably to that provision of the Constitution which requires duties to be uniform throughout the United States, and further, that a combination of persons engaged in such insurrection have threatened to grant pretended letters of marque to authorize the bearers thereof to commit assaults on the lives, vessels, and property of good citizens of the country lawfully engaged in commerce on the high seas and in the waters of the United States, and whereas, the President says, an executive proclamation has already been issued requiring the persons engaged in these disorderly proceedings to desist, therefore calling out a militia force for the purpose of repressing the same and convening Congress in extraordinary session to deliberate and determine thereon. The President, with a view to the same purposes before mentioned, and to the protection of the public peace, and the lives and property of its orderly citizens pursuing their lawful occupations, until Congress shall have assembled and deliberated on the said unlawful proceedings, or until the same shall have ceased, has further deemed it advisable to set on foot a blockade of the ports within the States aforesaid in pursuance of the laws of the United States

and the law of nations in such cases provided. For this purpose a competent force will be posted so as to prevent the entrance and exit of vessels from the ports aforesaid. If, therefore, with a view to violate the blockade a vessel shall attempt to leave any of the said ports, she will be duly warned by the commander of one of the said blockading vessels, who will endorse on her register the fact and date of such warning, and if the same vessel still again attempt to enter or leave the blockaded ports, she will be captured and sent to the nearest convenient port for such proceedings against her and her cargo as may be deemed advisable."

In addition to the hostile demonstrations on the part of the avowed rebels, the border States, long wavering, began to gravitate towards the South. On the very same day (significant fact!) that Davis issued the above proclamation, Governor Letcher, of Virginia, announced his intention of resisting what he termed the invasion of Virginian soil by the Northern troops, and on the 19th the United States troops at Harper's Ferry, being pressed by the State militia, were obliged to destroy the arsenal, containing 15,000 stand of arms and a large quantity of war material in general, and retire to Pennsylvania; on the same day the custom-house at Richmond was seized, and on the 20th the Gosport navy-yard, Norfolk, was destroyed to prevent the property contained therein falling into the hands of the Secessionists. Eleven vessels of war, measuring 21,398 tons, and carrying 606 guns, were burnt. Later on, the forts and other Federal property in North Carolina were seized by the authorities of that State. These movements caused the Government of Washington, on the 29th April, to issue a further blockading proclamation, closing the ports of Virginia and North Carolina.

The war having now fairly set in, it only remained that it be prosecuted vigorously: with this object in view, a further levy

of troops, militia and regulars, was made on the 3rd May, as follows:—

"BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES:

"Whereas, existing exigencies demand immediate and adequate measures for the protection of the national Constitution and the preservation of the national Union by the suppression of the insurrectionary combinations now existing in several States for opposing the laws of the Union and obstructing the execution thereof, to which end a military force, in addition to that called forth by my proclamation of the fifteenth day of April in the present year, appears to be indispensably necessary: now therefore I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States and Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy thereof, and of the Militia of the several States when called into actual service, do hereby call into the service of the United States forty-two thousand and thirty-two volunteers, to serve for a period of three years unless sooner discharged, and to be mustered into service as infantry and cavalry. The proportions of each arm and the details of enrolment and organization will be made through the Department of War; and I also direct that the regular army of the United States be increased by the addition of eight regiments of infantry, one regiment of cavalry, and one regiment of artillery, making altogether a maximum aggregate increase of twenty-two thousand seven hundred and fourteen, officers and enlisted men, the details of which increase will also be made known through the Department of War; and I further direct the enlistment, for not less than one nor more than three years, of eighteen thousand seamen, in addition to the present force, for the naval service of the United States. The details of the enlistment and organization will be made known through the Department of the Navy. The call for volunteers hereby made, and the direction for the increase of the regular army, and for the enlistment of seamen hereby given, together with the plan of organization adopted for the volunteers and for the regular forces hereby authorized, will be submitted to Congress as soon as assembled. In the mean time I earnestly invoke the co-operation of all good citizens in the measures hereby adopted for the effectual suppression of unlawful violence, for the impartial enforcement of constitutional laws, and for the speediest possible restoration of peace and order, and, with those, of happiness and prosperity throughout the country.

"In testimony whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

"Done at the City of Washington this third day of May, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-one, and of the Independence of the United States the eighty-fifth.

"ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

"By the President,

"WILLIAM H. SEWARD, Secretary of State."

One by one the border States are giving up their allegiance to the Union. Arkansas passed a secession ordinance on the 6th May, and Tennessee a similar one, subject to ratification by the people, on the 8th June. North Carolina, in addition to joining the Southern Confederacy, passed a law authorizing a loan of $5,000,000 to be devoted to war purposes. Missouri, Kentucky, Maryland, Delaware, and Western Virginia are now the only slave States owning allegiance to President Lincoln, and that of a very cold nature.

The "Southern Confederacy" has not been behind its opponent in making preparations for a determined struggle. So far, both men and money seem to be forthcoming on a large scale; but still nothing adequate to meet the wealth and legions of the North. Up to the date on which we write (June 3), the accounts from the South state that Jefferson Davis had 150,000 men at his command, fully provided for a campaign of twelve months; in the North, however, there were at least double that number already in arms. The total militia power of the two sections is about 3,500,000, of which 2,500,000 belong to the free States, and 1,000,000 to the slave States (inclusive of the whole of the border States).

At the opening meeting of the Southern Congress on the 29th April, an Act was passed recognizing the existence of war with the United States, and authorizing the issue of letters of marque. One section of the enactment gives an allowance of thirty days to all Northern vessels then in Southern ports, to enable them to return home; and another section lays down the doctrine that free ships make free goods.

On the same day Mr. Davis delivered a lengthy Message to the Congress. The document is merely a rehash of what has been said before on the troubles of the Union; and the fact that it says nothing new, and is extremely verbose in saying it, are the reasons why we do not reproduce it here. The Message is more remarkable for what it does not than for what it does say. It ignores the real cause of the present crisis, and endeavours to throw all the blame upon the shoulders of the Washington Government; whereas, if the Government has sinned at all, it has been in being too lenient to the Southern conspirators. Lincoln, from the very first, has acted purely on the defensive, but Davis has acted purely on the aggressive. Federal property has been plundered and destroyed to an enormous extent. The Government and its flag has been insulted on every available occasion, and Washington itself has been threatened with bombardment, whilst many of the people in the slave States have been coerced into submission by the demagogues. Clearly the war has been originated by the Southerners, and upon their heads must fall the consequences of their evil doings. Some of our English newspapers, in bemoaning the present crisis and impending horrors, seem to think that the fault lies with the Lincoln Government, and they upbraid it for not submitting to the demands of the rebels. These papers seem to forget that President Lincoln took oath to maintain the Union and the Constitution, and that consequently *he* cannot, either directly or indirectly, *even entertain* the idea of dissolution, no more than our own beloved Sovereign could entertain the idea of allowing a division of the British empire without the permission of the people of England.

If the people of the Northern States of America say that the Union shall be maintained, and if they are willing to pay the cost of said maintenance, Abraham Lincoln, whatever may be the ultimate result of his endeavours, will be compelled, at all events, to try to put down the rebellion in the South, and if he shrinks from doing his duty, some one else will be appointed to replace him; if, on the other hand, the people do not continue their present hearty support of the President, why, it will not be his fault if the Union is dissolved.

The United States Government believes that the quelling of the Southern rebellion is not such a difficult thing as is sometimes represented. The uprising, it says, does not extend to the whole Southern people, but is the work entirely of a band of disappointed and defeated politicians. These men have usurped the reins of Government, and now tyrannize over the more peaceful and Union-loving people, and they are so thoroughly organized that they can prevent the expression of opinions contrary to their notions. The Administration believes that the South is not an unit in the desire for secession; that the real disunion party is a very small minority; that there is a strong anti-secession section which is coerced; and that the great bulk of the people are deluded by their leaders. These latter are the victims of the foulest misrepresentations as to the intentions of the Northern States, and their misgivings as to the results of war are silenced by the promulgation of the most absurd statements as to the intentions of the European powers. The peace-loving people of the South back the secessionists, because they are under the impression that Lincoln purposes to invade their territory with an army of "blood-

thirsty abolitionists" (to use their own phrase), whose work it will be to liberate the blacks, and carry fire and sword to the very hearths of the white people. It is lamentable that such atrocious falsehoods should be believed; but so it is, and no one on the spot dare attempt to undeceive the multitude, whilst all information from the free States is carefully excluded from the "Southern Confederacy."

Then, again, as to the effects of war upon the agriculture and commerce of the Southern States, the citizens are told, (by Major Wise, for instance, in De Bow's *Southern Quarterly Review* for January, 1861), that if the United States Government dared to blockade the Southern ports, England and France would demand the instant withdrawal of the hostile squadrons. It seems incredible that intelligent Southerners should allow themselves to be crammed with such stuff.

President Lincoln believes that, when he has relieved the South of the presence and power of the leading traitors, there will be a general reaction in favour of the old Union; that when the people have been shown the true character of the secession movement, they will hurl the leaders of the rebellion from their position with probably less ceremony than would be employed by the United States Government.

All this remains to be seen. The prognostications of the Republican Cabinet may turn out to be well-founded—we hope they may. We cannot, however, close our eyes to the fact that, whatever may be the real leanings of the whole people of the South, they *appear* to be, and *act* as if they were, determined upon consummating their independence. *At present*, judging from the

information which has reached this side of the Atlantic, the prospects of reunion are, to say the least, very doubtful.

However, there can be no question that the Government has a right to put down the rebellion; and no foreign power has any business to interfere between the belligerents. Neutrality is at once the duty and the interest of European nations.

Just now the sympathies of England and France are with the North; but the latter will not improve its position by giving expression to "tall talk," as to the policy which should govern the great powers of the Old World. Great Britain can afford to treat the impotent threats of Cassius M. Clay with contempt; and the American Ambassador to the Court of St. Petersburgh may rest assured that his unfortunate letter to *The Times*, and his absurd speech at Paris, have done more damage to the cause of the free States than all the fulminations of Jefferson Davis put together. His attempt at flattering the Emperor Napoleon had the effect of making him look supremely ridiculous in the eyes of all sensible people, and resulted in calling down upon him a severe castigation from the press both of London and Paris. "La France n'écoutera que la voix de la justice et du droit," said the *Pays*, and Mr. Clay may rest assured that the same sentiment will govern the conduct of England.

At present there is no doubt that justice and right are on the side of the North. One great proof of the innate weakness—ay, badness—of the cause of the Southern Confederacy is the fact that it has refused to accept all constitutional remedies for its real or supposed grievances, and has preferred

to hew itself out of the Union amidst the blood and carnage of civil war. There was no need for the sword to have been drawn; the ballot-box could have settled the question, if only it had been allowed fair play. If the slave-owners are honest, if their cause is founded on justice and the common weal of the Southern people, why have they refused to allow their own people to vote on the adoption or not of the new Constitution? If their grievances are what they avow them to be, why not put them in a series of constitutional amendments, and lay them before the people of the whole Union, to accept or reject as they pleased? If, under such circumstances, they failed in obtaining redress, then the world would wish them God-speed in defending their rights by means of the sword. As it is they are rebels; and even if they succeed in establishing their separate existence, the civil war which *they* have inaugurated will ever remain a foul blot upon their fame.

20*th June*, 1861.

ERRATA.

Page 21, lines 20 and 21, for *Senate, yeas* 90, *nays* 87, read *Senate unanimous.*

„ 28, line 17, for General *Taylor*, read General *Jackson.*

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

(A.)

CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES.

PREAMBLE.

WE, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, ensure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.

ARTICLE I.—*Of the Legislature.*

SECTION I.—1. All legislative powers herein granted, shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives.

SECTION II.—1. The House of Representatives shall be composed of members chosen every second year by the people of the several States; and the electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State Legislature.

2. No person shall be a representative who shall not have attained to the age of 25 years, and been seven years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State in which he shall be chosen.

3. Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three-fifths of all other persons. The actual enumeration shall be made within three years after the first meeting of the Congress of the United States, and within every subsequent term of ten years, in such manner as they shall by law

direct. . The number of representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty thousand, but each State shall have at least one representative; and until such enumeration shall be made, the State of New Hampshire shall be entitled to choose three; Massachusetts eight; Rhode Island and Providence Plantations one; Connecticut five; New York six; New Jersey four; Pennsylvania eight; Delaware one; Maryland six; Virginia ten; North Carolina five; South Carolina five; and Georgia three.

4. When vacancies happen in the representation from any State, the executive authority thereof shall issue writs of election to fill up such vacancies.

5. The House of Representatives shall choose their Speaker and other officers, and shall have the sole power of impeachment.

SECTION III.—1. The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two senators from each State, chosen by the Legislature thereof, for six years; and each senator shall have one vote.

2. Immediately after they shall be assembled in consequence of the first election, they shall be divided, as equally as may be, into three classes. The seats of the senators of the first class shall be vacated at the expiration of the second year, of the second class at the expiration of the fourth year, and of the third class at the expiration of the sixth year, so that one-third may be chosen every second year; and, if vacancies happen, by resignation or otherwise, during the recess of the Legislature of any State, the executive thereof may make temporary appointments until the next meeting of the Legislature, which shall then fill such vacancies.

3. No person shall be a senator who shall not have attained to the age of thirty years, and been nine years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State for which he shall be chosen.

4. The Vice-President of the United States shall be President of the Senate, but shall have no vote, unless they be equally divided.

5. The Senate shall choose their other officers, and also a President *pro tempore*, in the absence of the Vice-President, or when he shall exercise the office of President of the United States.

6. The Senate shall have the sole power to try all impeachments. When sitting for that purpose, they shall be on oath or affirmation. When the President of the United States is tried the Chief Justice shall preside, and no person shall be convicted without the concurrence of two-thirds of the members present.

7. Judgment in case of impeachment shall not extend further than to removal from office, and disqualification to hold and enjoy any office of honour, trust or profit, under the United States; but the party convicted shall nevertheless be liable and subject to indictment, trial, judgment and punishment according to law.

SECTION IV.—1. The times, places, and manner of holding elections for senators and representatives shall be prescribed in each State by the Legislature thereof; but the Congress may, at any time, by law make or alter such regulations except as to the places of choosing senators.

2. The Congress shall assemble at least once in every year, and such meeting shall be on the first Monday in December, unless they shall by law appoint a different day.

SECTION V.—1. Each House shall be the judge of the elections, returns, and qualifications of its own members; and a majority of each shall constitute a quorum to do business; but a smaller number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorised to compel the attendance of absent members, in such manner and under such penalties as each house may provide.

2. Each House may determine the rules of its proceedings, punish its members for disorderly behaviour, and with the concurrence of two-thirds expel a member.

3. Each House shall keep a journal of its proceedings, and from time to time publish the same, excepting such parts as may in their judgment require secrecy; and the yeas and nays of the members of either House, on any question, shall at the desire of one-fifth of those present be entered on the journal.

4. Neither House, during the session of Congress shall, without the consent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other place than that in which the two Houses shall be sitting.

SECTION VI.—1. The senators and representatives shall receive a compensation for their services, to be ascertained by law, and paid out of the Treasury of the United States. They shall in all cases except treason, felony, and breach of the peace, be privileged from arrest during their attendance at the Session of their respective Houses, and in going to or returning from the same; and for any speech or debate in either House they shall not be questioned in any other place.

2. No senator or representative shall, during the time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil office under the authority of the United States which shall have been created, or the emoluments whereof shall have been increased, during such time; and no person holding any office under the United States shall be a member of either House during his continuance in office.

SECTION VII.—1. All Bills for raising revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives, but the Senate may propose or concur with amendments, as on other Bills.

2. Every Bill which shall have passed the House of Representatives and the Senate shall, before it becomes a law, be presented to the President of the United States: if he approve, he shall sign it; but if not, he shall return it, with his objections, to that House in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the objections at large on their journal, and proceed to reconsider it. If, after such reconsideration, two-thirds of that House shall agree to pass the Bill, it shall be sent, together with the objections, to the other House, by which it shall likewise be reconsidered, and if approved by two-thirds of that House, it shall become a law; but in all such cases, the votes of both Houses shall be determined by yeas and nays, and the names of the persons voting for and against the Bill shall be entered on the journal of each House respectively. If any Bill shall not be returned by the President within ten days (Sundays excepted) after it shall have been presented to

him, the same shall be a law in like manner as if he had signed it, unless the Congress by their adjournment prevent its return, in which case it shall not be a law.

3. Every order, resolution, or vote, to which the concurrence of the Senate and House of Representatives may be necessary (except on a question of adjournment), shall be presented to the President of the United States; and before the same shall take effect, shall be approved by him, or being disapproved by him, shall be repassed by two-thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, according to the rules and limitations prescribed in the case of a Bill.

SECTION VIII.—1. The Congress shall have power—To lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises; to pay the debts and provide for the common defence and general welfare of the United States; but all duties, imposts, and excises, shall be uniform throughout the United States.

2. To borrow money on the credit of the United States.

3. To regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian tribes.

4. To establish an uniform rule of naturalization, and uniform laws on the subject of bankruptcies throughout the United States.

5. To coin money, regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coin, and fix the standard of weights and measures.

6. To provide for the punishment of counterfeiting the securities and current coin of the United States.

7. To establish post-offices and post-roads.

8. To promote the progress of science and useful arts, by securing, for limited times, to authors and inventors the exclusive right to their respective writings and discoveries.

9. To constitute tribunals inferior to the supreme courts.

10. To define and punish piracies and felonies committed on the high seas, and offences against the law of nations.

11. To declare war, grant letters of marque and reprisal, and make rules concerning captures on land and water.

12. To raise and support armies; but no appropriation of money to that use shall be for a longer term than two years.

13. To provide and maintain a navy.

14. To make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces.

15. To provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections, and repel invasions.

16. To provide for organizing, arming and disciplining the militia, and for governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the United States, reserving to the States respectively, the appointment of the officers, and the authority of training the militia according to the discipline prescribed by Congress.

17. To exercise exclusive legislation in all cases whatsoever, over such district (not exceeding ten miles square) as may, by cession of particular States and the ac-

ceptance of Congress, become the seat of Government of the United States; and to exercise like authority over all places purchased, by the consent of the Legislature of the States in which the same shall be, for the erection of forts, magazines, arsenals, dockyards, and other needful buildings, and

18. To make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers and all other powers vested by this Constitution in the Government of the United States, or in any department or officer thereof.

SECTION IX.—1. The migration or importation of such persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress, prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight, but a tax or duty may be imposed on such importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each person.

2. The privilege of the writ of habeas corpus shall not be suspended, unless when, in cases of rebellion or invasion, the public safety may require it.

3. No bill of attainder, or *ex post facto* law, shall be passed.

4. No capitation or other direct tax shall be laid, unless in proportion to the census or enumeration hereinbefore directed to be taken.

5. No tax or duty shall be laid on articles exported from any State. No preference shall be given by any regulation of commerce or revenue to the ports for one State over those of another: nor shall vessels bound to or from one State, be obliged to enter, clear, or pay duties in another.

6. No money shall be drawn from the Treasury, but in consequence of appropriations made by law; and a regular statement and account of the receipts and expenditures of all public money shall be published from time to time.

7. No title of nobility shall be granted by the United States, and no person holding any office of profit or trust under them shall, without the consent of the Congress, accept of any present, emolument, office, or title of any kind whatever, from any king, prince, or foreign state.

SECTION X.—1. No State shall enter into any treaty, alliance, or confederation; grant letters of marque and reprisal; coin money; emit bills of credit; make anything but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts; pass any bill of attainder, *ex post facto law*, or law impairing the obligation of contracts; or grant any title of nobility.

2. No State shall, without the consent of the Congress, lay any imposts or duties on imports or exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection laws, and the neat produce of all duties and imposts, laid by any State on imports or exports, shall be for the use of the Treasury of the United States, and all such laws shall be subject to the revision and control of the Congress. No State shall, without the consent of the Congress, lay any duty on tonnage, keep troops or ships of war in time of peace, enter into any agreement or compact with another State, or with a foreign power, or engage in war, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent danger as will not admit of delay.

ARTICLE II.—*Of the Executive.*

SECTION I.—1. The executive power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. He shall hold his office during the term of four years, and, together with the Vice-President, chosen for the same term, be elected as follows:

2. Each State shall appoint, in such manner as the Legislature thereof may direct, a number of electors, equal to the whole number of senators and representatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congress; but no senator or representative, or person holding any office of trust or profit under the United States, shall be appointed an elector.

3. The electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by ballot for two persons, of whom one at least shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves. And they shall make a list of all the persons voted for, and of the number of votes for each; which list they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the Government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate. The President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted. The person having the greatest number of votes shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if there be more than one who have such a majority, and have an equal number of votes, then the House of Representatives shall immediately choose, by ballot, one of them for President; and if no person have a majority, then, from the five highest on the list, the said House shall, in like manner, choose the President. But, in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. In every case, after the choice of the President, the person having the greatest number of votes of the electors shall be the Vice-President. But if there should remain two or more who have equal votes, the Senate shall choose from them, by ballot, the Vice-President.

4. The Congress may determine the time of choosing the electors and the day on which they shall give their votes; which day shall be the same throughout the United States.

5. No person, except a natural-born citizen, or a citizen of the United States at the time of the adoption of this Constitution, shall be eligible to the office of President, neither shall any person be eligible to that office who shall not have attained to the age of thirty-five years, and been fourteen years a resident within the United States.

6. In case of the removal of the President from office, or of his death, resignation, or inability to discharge the powers and duties of the said office, the same shall devolve on the Vice-President, and the Congress may, by law, provide for the case of removal, death, resignation, or inability, both of the President and Vice-President,

declaring what officer shall then act as President, and such officer shall act accordingly, until the disability be removed, or a President shall be elected.

7. The President shall, at stated times, receive for his services a compensation, which shall neither be increased nor diminished during the period for which he shall have been elected, and he shall not receive within that period any other emolument from the United States, or any of them.

8. Before he enter on the execution of his office, he shall take the following oath or affirmation:—"I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States, and will, to the best of my ability, preserve, protect, and defend, the Constitution of the United States."

SECTION II.—1. The President shall be commander-in-chief of the army and navy of the United States, and of the militia of the several States, when called into actual service of the United States; he may require the opinion, in writing, of the principal officer in each of the executive departments, upon any subject relating to the duties of their respective offices; and he shall have power to grant reprieves and pardons for offences against the United States, except in cases of impeachment.

2. He shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make treaties, provided two-thirds of the senators present concur: and he shall nominate, and by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, shall appoint ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, judges of the supreme court, and all other officers of the United States, whose appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by law. But the Congress may, by law, vest the appointment of such inferior officers as they think proper in the President alone, in the courts of law, or in the heads of departments.

3. The President shall have power to fill up all vacancies that may happen during the recess of the Senate, by granting commissions which shall expire at the end of their next Session.

SECTION III.—1. He shall, from time to time, give to the Congress information of the state of the Union, and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient; he may, on extraordinary occasions convene both Houses, or either of them, and in case of disagreement between them, with respect to the time of adjournment, he may adjourn them to such time as he shall think proper; he shall receive ambassadors and other public ministers; he shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed; and shall commission all the officers of the United States.

SECTION IV.—1. The President, Vice-President, and all civil officers of the United States, shall be removed from office on impeachment for and conviction of treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors.

ARTICLE III.—*Of the Judiciary.*

SECTION I.—1. The judicial power of the United States shall be vested in one supreme court, and in such inferior courts as the Congress may, from time to time, ordain and establish. The judges, both of the supreme and inferior courts, shall hold

their offices during good behaviour, and shall, at stated times, receive for their services a compensation, which shall not be diminished during their continuance in office.

SECTION II.—1. The judicial power shall extend to all cases in law and equity, arising under this Constitution, the laws of the United States, and treaties made, or which shall be made, under their authority; to all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls; to all cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction; to controversies to which the United States shall be a party; to controversies between two or more States; between a State and citizens of another State; between citizens of different States; between citizens of the same State claiming lands under grants of different States; and between a State, or the citizens thereof, and foreign states, citizens, or subjects.

2. In all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, and those in which a State shall be a party, the supreme court shall have original jurisdiction. In all the other cases before mentioned, the supreme court shall have appellate jurisdiction, both as to law and fact, with such exceptions, and under such regulations as the Congress shall make.

3. The trial of all crimes, except in cases of impeachment, shall be by jury, and such trial shall be held in the State where the said crimes shall have been committed; but when not committed within any State, the trial shall be at such place or places as the Congress may by law have directed.

SECTION III.—1. Treason against the United States shall consist only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort. No person shall be convicted of treason unless on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act, or on confession in open court.

2. Congress shall have power to declare the punishment of treason; but no attainder of treason shall work corruption of blood, or forfeiture, except during the life of the person attainted.

ARTICLE IV.—*Miscellaneous.*

SECTION I.—1. Full faith and credit shall be given in each State to the public acts, records, and judicial proceedings of every other State. And the Congress may by general laws, prescribe the manner in which such acts, records, and proceedings shall be proved, and the effect thereof.

SECTION II.—1. The citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States.

2. A person charged in any State with treason, felony, or other crime, who shall flee from justice, and be found in another State, shall, on demand of the executive authority of the State from which he fled, be delivered up, to be removed to the State having jurisdiction of the crime.

3. No person held to service or labour in one State under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labour; but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labour may be due.

SECTION III.—1. New States may be admitted by the Congress into this Union; but no new State shall be formed or erected within the jurisdiction of any other State, nor any State be formed by the junction of two or more States, or parts of States, without the consent of the Legislatures of the States concerned, as well as of the Congress.

2. Congress shall have power to dispose of, and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States; and nothing in this Constitution shall be so construed as to prejudice any claims of the United, or of any particular State.

SECTION IV.—1. The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a Republican form of Government, and shall protect each of them against invasion; and on application of the Legislature, or of the Executive, (when the Legislature cannot be convened), against domestic violence.

ARTICLE V.—*Of Amendments.*

1. Congress, whenever two-thirds of both Houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to this Constitution; or, on the application of the Legislatures of two-thirds of the several States, shall call a Convention for proposing amendments, which, in either case, shall be valid to all intents and purposes, as part of this Constitution, when ratified by the Legislatures of three-fourths of the several States, or by Conventions in three-fourths thereof, as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by the Congress; provided, that no amendment which may be made prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight, shall in any manner affect the first and fourth clause in the ninth section of the first Article: and that no State, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate.

ARTICLE VI.—*Miscellaneous.*

1. All debts contracted and engagements entered into, before the adoption of this Constitution, shall be as valid against the United States under this Constitution, as under the Confederation.

2. This Constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof, and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land; and the judges in every State shall be bound thereby, anything in the Constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding.

3. The senators and representatives before mentioned, and the members of the several State Legislatures, and all executive and judicial officers, both of the United States and of the several States, shall be bound by oath or affirmation to support this Constitution; but no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States.

ARTICLE VII.—*Of the Ratification.*

The ratification of the Conventions of nine States shall be sufficient for the establishment of this Constitution between the States so ratifying the same.

Done in Convention, by the unanimous consent of the States present, the seventeenth day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-seven, and of the Independence of the United States of America, the twelfth. In witness whereof, we have hereunto subscribed our names.

GEORGE WASHINGTON,
President and Deputy from Virginia.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.
John Langdon,
Nicholas Gilman,

MASSACHUSETTS.
Nathaniel Gorman,
Rufus King.

CONNECTICUT.
William Samuel Johnson,
Roger Sherman.

NEW YORK.
Alexander Hamilton.

NEW JERSEY.
William Livingston,
David Bearly,
William Paterson,
Jonathan Dayton.

PENNSYLVANIA.
Benjamin Franklin,
Thomas Mifflin,
Robert Morris,
George Clymer,
Thomas Fitzsimons,
Jared Ingersoll,
James Wilson,
Governeur Morris.

DELAWARE.
George Read,
Gunning Bedford, jun.
John Dickinson,
Richard Bassett,
Jacob Broom.

MARYLAND.
James M'Henry,
Daniel of St. Tho. Jenifer,
Daniel Carrol.

VIRGINIA.
John Blair,
James Madison, jun.

NORTH CAROLINA.
William Blount,
Richard Dobbs Spaight,
Hugh Williamson.

SOUTH CAROLINA.
John Rutledge,
C. Cotesworth Pinckney,
Charles Pinckney,
Pierce Butler.

GEORGIA.
William Few,
Abraham Baldwin.

Attest, WILLIAM JACKSON, *Secretary.*

AMENDMENTS TO THE CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE I.

Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

ARTICLE II.

A well-regulated militia being necessary to the security of a free state, the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed.

ARTICLE III.

No soldier shall in time of peace be quartered in any house without the consent of the owner; nor in time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

ARTICLE IV.

The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated; and no warrants shall issue but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.

ARTICLE V.

No person shall be held to answer for a capital or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a grand jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the militia when in actual service in time of war, or public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same offence to be put twice in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled, in any criminal case, to be witness against himself; nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use without just compensation.

ARTICLE VI.

In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favour; and to have the assistance of counsel for his defence.

ARTICLE VII.

In suits at common law, when the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved; and no fact tried by jury

shall be otherwise re-examined in any court of the United States than according to the rules of the common law.

ARTICLE VIII.

Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

ARTICLE IX.

The enumeration in the Constitution of certain rights shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

ARTICLE X.

The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.

ARTICLE XI.

The judicial power of the United States shall not be construed to extend to any suit in law or equity commenced or prosecuted against one of the United States by citizens of another State, or by citizens or subjects of another State, or by citizens or subjects of any foreign state.

ARTICLE XII.

SECTION I.—The electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by ballot for President and Vice-President, one of whom at least shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves; they shall name in their ballots the person voted for as President, and in distinct ballots the person voted for as Vice-President; and they shall make distinct lists of all persons voted for as President, and all persons voted for as Vice-President, and of the number of votes for each, which list they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of Government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate: the President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted; the person having the greatest number of votes for President shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have such a majority, then from the persons having the highest numbers, not exceeding three, on the list of those voted for as President, the House of Representatives shall choose immediately by ballot the President. But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice, and if the House of Representatives shall not choose a President whenever the right of choice shall devolve upon them, before the fourth day of March next following, then the Vice-President shall act as President, as in the case of the death or other constitutional disability of the President.

SECTION II.—The person having the greatest number of votes as Vice-President shall be the Vice-President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have a majority, then, from the two highest numbers on the list, the Senate shall choose the Vice-President: a quorum for the purpose shall consist of two-thirds of the whole number of senators, and a majority of the whole number shall be necessary to a choice.

SECTION III.—But no person constitutionally ineligible to the office of President shall be elected to that of Vice-President of the United States.

ARTICLE XIII.

(Passed March 3rd, 1861.) That no amendment shall be made to the Constitution, which will authorize or give Congress power to abolish or interfere within any State with the domestic institutions thereof, including that of persons held to labour or servitude by the laws of said State.

(B.)

CONSTITUTION OF THE SECEDING OR "CONFEDERATED STATES OF NORTH AMERICA."

PREAMBLE.

WE, the people of the Confederate States, each State acting in its sovereign and independent character, in order to form a permanent Federal Government, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity—invoking the favour and guidance of Almighty God—do ordain and establish this Constitution for the Confederate States of America.

ARTICLE I.

SECTION I.—All legislative powers herein delegated shall be vested in a Congress of the Confederated States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives.

SECTION II.—1. The House of Representatives shall be composed of members chosen every second year by the people of the several States; and the electors in each State shall be citizens of the Confederate States, and have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State Legislature; but no person of foreign birth, and not a citizen of the Confederate States, shall be allowed to vote for any officer, civil or political, state or federal.

2. No person shall be a representative who shall not have attained the age of twenty-five years, and be a citizen of the Confederate States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State in which he shall be chosen.

3. Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several States

which may be included within this Confederacy according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three-fifths of all slaves. The actual enumeration shall be made within three years after the first meeting of the Congress of the Confederate States, and within every subsequent term of ten years, in such manner as they shall by law direct. The number of representatives shall not exceed one for every fifty thousand, but each State shall have at least one representative; and until such enumeration shall be made, the State of South Carolina shall be entitled to choose six, the State of Georgia ten, the State of Alabama nine, the State of Florida two, the State of Mississippi seven, the State of Louisiana six, and the State of Texas six.

4. When vacancies happen in the representation from any State, the executive authority thereof shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies.

5. The House of Representatives shall choose their Speaker and other officers, and shall have the sole power of impeachment, except that any judicial or other federal officer resident and acting solely within the limits of any State, may be impeached by a vote of two-thirds of both branches of the Legislature thereof.

SECTION III.—1. The Senate of the Confederate States, shall be composed of two senators from each State, chosen for six years by the Legislature thereof, at the regular Session next immediately preceding the commencement of the term of service, and each senator shall have one vote.

2. Immediately after they shall be assembled, in consequence of the first election, they shall be divided as equally as may be into three classes. The seats of the senators of the first class shall be vacated at the expiration of the second year, of the second class at the expiration of the fourth year, and of the third class at the expiration of the sixth year, so that one-third may be chosen every second year; and if vacancies happen by resignation or otherwise during the recess of the Legislature of any State, the executive thereof may make temporary appointments until the next meeting of the Legislature, which shall then fill such vacancies.

3. No person shall be a senator who shall not have attained the age of thirty years, and be a citizen of the Confederate States, and who shall not when elected be an inhabitant of the State for which he shall be chosen.

4. The Vice-President of the Confederate States shall be President of the Senate, but shall have no vote unless they be equally divided.

5. The Senate shall choose their other officers, and also a President *pro tempore* in the absence of the Vice-President, or when he shall exercise the office of President of the Confederate States.

6. The Senate shall have the sole power to try all impeachments. When sitting for that purpose, they shall be on oath or affirmation. When the President of the Confederate States is tried the Chief Justice shall preside, and no person shall be convicted without the concurrence of two-thirds of the members present.

7. Judgment in cases of impeachment shall not extend further than to removal from office and disqualification to hold and enjoy any office of honour, trust or

profit under the Confederate States; but the party convicted shall nevertheless be liable and subject to indictment, trial, judgment, and punishment, according to law.

SECTION IV.—1. The times, places, and manner of holding elections for senators and representatives shall be prescribed in each State by the Legislature thereof, subject to the provisions of this Constitution; but the Congress may, at any time, by law, make or alter such regulations, except as to the times and places of choosing senators.

2. The Congress shall assemble at least once in every year; and such meeting shall be on the first Monday in December, unless they shall, by law, appoint a different day.

SECTION V.—1. Each House shall be the judge of the elections, returns, and qualifications of its own members, and a majority of each shall constitute a quorum to do business; but a smaller number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorized to compel the attendance of absent members, in such manner and under such penalties as each House may provide.

2. Each House may determine the rules of its proceedings, punish its members for disorderly behaviour, and, with the concurrence of two-thirds of the whole number, expel a member.

3. Each House shall keep a journal of its proceedings, and from time to time publish the same, excepting such parts as may in their judgment require secrecy, and the yeas and nays of the members of either House on any question shall, at the desire of one-fifth of those present, be entered on the journal.

4. Neither House, during the Session of Congress, shall, without the consent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other place than that in which the two Houses shall be sitting.

SECTION VI.—1. The senators and representatives shall receive a compensation for their services, to be ascertained by law, and paid out of the treasury of the Confederate States. They shall, in all cases, except treason and breach of the peace, be privileged from arrest during their attendance at the Session of their respective Houses, and in going to and returning from the same, and for any speech or debate in either House they shall not be questioned in any other place.

2. No senator or representative shall, during the time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil office under the authority of the Confederate States which shall have been created, or the emoluments whereof shall have been increased during such time; and no person holding any office under the Confederate States shall be a member of either House during his continuance in office. But Congress may, by law, grant to the principal officer in each of the executive departments a seat upon the floor of either House, with the privilege of discussing any measures appertaining to his department.

SECTION VII.—1. All Bills for raising revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives; but the Senate may propose or concur with amendments as on other Bills.

2. Every Bill which shall have passed both Houses shall, before it becomes a law, be presented to the President of the Confederate States. If he approve, he shall sign it; but if not, he shall return it, with his objections, to that House in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the objections at large on their journal, and proceed to reconsider it. If, after such reconsideration, two-thirds of that House shall agree to pass the Bill, it shall be sent, together with the objections, to the other House, by whom it shall likewise be reconsidered, and if approved by two-thirds of that House it shall become a law. But in all such cases the votes of both Houses shall be determined by yeas and nays, and the names of the persons voting for and against the Bill shall be entered on the journal of each House respectively. If any Bill shall not be returned by the President within ten days (Sundays excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the same shall be a law, in like manner as if he had signed it, unless the Congress, by their adjournment, prevent its return, in which case it shall not be a law. The President may approve any appropriation and disapprove any other appropriation in the same Bill. In such case he shall, in signing the Bill, designate the appropriations disapproved, and shall return a copy of such appropriations, with his objections, to the House in which the Bill shall have originated; and the same proceedings shall then be had as in case of other Bills disapproved by the President.

3. Every order, resolution, or vote, to which the concurrence of both Houses may be necessary (except on a question of adjournment), shall be presented to the President of the Confederate States; and before the same shall take effect, shall be approved by him; or being disapproved by him, may be repassed by two-thirds of both Houses according to the rules and limitations prescribed in case of a Bill.

SECTION VIII.—The Congress shall have power—

1. To lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises for revenue necessary to pay the debts, provide for the common defence, and carry on the Government of the Confederate States; but no bounties shall be granted from the Treasury, nor shall any duties or taxes on importations from foreign nations be laid to promote or foster any branch of industry; and all duties, imposts, and excises shall be uniform throughout the Confederate States.

2. To borrow money on the credit of the Confederate States.

3. To regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian tribes; but neither this, nor any other clause contained in the Constitution, shall ever be construed to delegate the power to Congress to appropriate money for any internal improvement intended to facilitate commerce; except for the purpose of furnishing lights, beacons, and buoys, and other aids to navigation upon the coasts, and the improvement of harbours, and the removing of obstructions in river navigation, in all which cases such duties shall be laid on the navigation facilitated thereby, as may be necessary to pay the costs and expenses thereof.

4. To establish uniform laws of naturalization, and uniform laws on the subject

of bankruptcies, throughout the Confederate States; but no law of Congress shall discharge any debt contracted before the passage of the same.

5. To coin money, regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coin, and fix the standard of weights and measures.

6. To provide for the punishment of counterfeiting the securities and current coin of the Confederate States.

7. To establish post-offices and post routes; but the expenses of the Post-office Department, after the first day of March, in the year of our Lord eighteen hundred and sixty-three, shall be paid out of its own revenues.

8. To promote the progress of science and useful arts, by securing for limited times to authors and inventors the exclusive right to their respective writings and discoveries.

9. To constitute tribunals inferior to the Supreme Court.

10. To define and punish piracies and felonies committed on the high seas, and offences against the law of nations.

11. To declare war, grant letters of marque and reprisal, and make rules concerning captures on land and water.

12. To raise and support armies; but no appropriation of money to that use shall be for a longer term than two years.

13. To provide and maintain a navy.

14. To make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces.

15. To provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Confederate States, suppress insurrections, and repel invasions.

16. To provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining the militia, and for governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the Confederate States; reserving to the States, respectively, the appointment of the officers and the authority of training the militia according to the discipline prescribed by Congress.

17. To exercise exclusive legislation, in all cases whatsoever, over such district (not exceeding ten miles square) as may, by cession of one or more States and the acceptance of Congress, become the seat of Government of the Confederate States; and to exercise like authority over all places purchased by the consent of the Legislature of the State in which the same shall be, for the erection of forts, magazines, arsenals, dockyards, and other needful buildings; and

18. To make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested by this Constitution in the Government of the Confederate States, or in any department or officer thereof.

SECTION IX.—1. The importation of negroes of the African race from any foreign country other than the slave-holding States or territories of the United States of America is hereby forbidden; and Congress is required to pass such laws as shall effectually prevent the same.

2. Congress shall also have power to prohibit the introduction of slaves from any State not a member of, or territory not belonging to, this Confederacy.

3. The privilege of the writ of habeas corpus shall not be suspended, unless when in cases of rebellion or invasion the public safety may require it.

4. No bill of attainder, or *ex post facto* law, or law denying or impairing the right of property in negro slaves, shall be passed.

5. No capitation or other direct tax shall be laid unless in proportion to the census or enumeration hereinbefore directed to be taken.

6. No tax or duty shall be laid on articles exported from any State, except by a vote of two-thirds of both Houses.

7. No preference shall be given by any regulation of commerce or revenue to the ports of one State over those of another.

8. No money shall be drawn from the treasury, but in consequence of appropriations made by law; and a regular statement and account of the receipts and expenditures of all public money shall be published from time to time.

9. Congress shall appropriate no money from the treasury except by a vote of two-thirds of both Houses, taken by yeas and nays, unless it be asked and estimated for by some one of the heads of department, and submitted to Congress by the President; or for the purpose of paying its own expenses and contingencies; or for the payment of claims against the Confederate States, the justice of which shall have been judicially declared by a tribunal for the investigation of claims against the Government, which it is hereby made the duty of Congress to establish.

10. All Bills appropriating money shall specify in Federal currency the exact amount of each appropriation and the purposes for which it is made; and Congress shall grant no extra compensation to any public contractor, officer, agent, or servant, after such contract shall have been made or such service rendered.

11. No title of nobility shall be granted by the Confederate States; and no person holding any office of profit or trust under them shall, without the consent of the Congress, accept of any present, emoluments, office, or title of any kind whatever from any king, prince, or foreign state.

12. Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

13. A well-regulated militia being necessary to the security of a free state, the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed.

14. No soldier shall, in time of peace, be quartered in any house without the consent of the owner; nor in time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

15. The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers and effects against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated; and no

warrants shall issue but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.

16. No person shall be held to answer for a capital or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a grand jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the militia, when in actual service, in time of war or public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same offence to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb, nor be compelled, in any criminal case, to be a witness against himself; nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use without just compensation.

17. In all criminal prosecutions the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favour, and to have the assistance of counsel for his defence.

18. In suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed $20, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved; and no fact so tried by a jury shall be otherwise re-examined in any court of the Confederacy than according to the rules of the common law.

19. Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

20. Every law, or resolution having the force of law, shall relate to but one subject, and that shall be expressed in the title.

SECTION X.—1. No State shall enter into any treaty, alliance, or confederation; grant letters of marque and reprisal; coin money; make anything but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts; pass any bill of attainder, or *ex post facto* law, or law impairing the obligation of contracts; or grant any title of nobility.

2. No State shall, without the consent of the Congress, lay any imposts or duties on imports or exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection laws; and the net produce of all duties and imposts, laid by any State on imports or exports, shall be for the use of the treasury of the Confederate States; and all such laws shall be subject to the revision and control of Congress.

3. No State shall, without the consent of Congress, lay any duty of tonnage, except on seagoing vessels, for the improvement of its rivers and harbours navigated by the said vessels; but such duties shall not conflict with any treaties of the Confederate States with foreign nations; and any surplus of revenue thus derived shall, after making such improvement, be paid into the common treasury; nor shall any State keep troops or ships of war in time of peace, enter into any

agreement or compact with another State or with a foreign Power, or engage in war, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent danger as will not admit of delay. But when any river divides or flows through two or more States, they may enter into compacts with each other to improve the navigation thereof.

ARTICLE II.

SECTION I.—1. The executive power shall be vested in a President of the Confederate States of America. He and the Vice-President shall hold their offices for the term of six years; but the President shall not be re-eligible. The President and Vice-President shall be elected as follows:

2. Each State shall appoint, in such manner as the Legislature thereof may direct, a number of electors equal to the whole number of senators and representatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congress; but no senator or representative, or person holding an office of trust or profit under the Confederate States, shall be appointed an elector.

3. The electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by ballot for President and Vice-President, one of whom, at least, shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves; they shall name in their ballots the person voted for as President, and in distinct ballots the person voted for as Vice-President, and they shall make distinct lists of all persons voted for as President, and of all persons voted for as Vice-President, and of the number of votes for each, which list they shall sign, and certify, and transmit, sealed, to the Government of the Confederate States, directed to the President of the Senate; the President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted; the person having the greatest number of votes for President shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have such majority, then, from the persons having the highest numbers, not exceeding three, on the list of those voted for as President, the House of Representatives shall choose immediately, by ballot, the President. But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one vote; a quorum for the purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. And if the House of Representatives shall not choose a President, whenever the right of choice shall devolve upon them, before the 4th day of March next following, then the Vice-President shall act as President, as in the case of death or other constitutional disability of the President.

4. The person having the greatest number of votes as Vice-President shall be the Vice-President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have a majority, then, from the two highest numbers on the list, the Senate shall choose the Vice-President. A quorum for the purpose shall consist of two-thirds of the whole number of senators, and a majority of the whole number shall be necessary to a choice.

5. But no person constitutionally ineligible to the office of President shall be eligible to that of Vice-President of the Confederate States.

6. The Congress may determine the time of choosing the electors, and the day on which they shall give their votes, which day shall be the same throughout the Confederate States.

7. No person, except a natural-born citizen of the Confederate States, or a citizen thereof at the time of the adoption of this Constitution, or a citizen thereof born in the United States prior to the 20th of December, 1860, shall be eligible to the office of President; neither shall any person be eligible to that office who shall not have attained the age of thirty-five years, and been fourteen years a resident within the limits of the Confederate States, as they may exist at the time of his election.

8. In case of the removal of the President from office, or of his death, resignation, or inability to discharge the powers and duties of the said office, the same shall devolve on the Vice-President; and the Congress may, by law, provide for the case of removal, death, resignation, or inability both of the President and Vice-President, declaring what officer shall then act as President, and such officer shall act accordingly, until the disability be removed or a President shall be elected.

9. The President shall, at stated times, receive for his services a compensation, which shall neither be increased nor diminished during the period for which he shall have been elected; and he shall not receive within that period any other emolument from the Confederate States, or any of them.

10. Before he enters on the execution of his office he shall take the following oath or affirmation:—

"I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the Confederate States, and will, to the best of my ability, preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution thereof."

SECTION II.—1. The President shall be commander-in-chief of the army and navy of the Confederate States, and of the militia of the several States, when called into the actual service of the Confederate States. He may require the opinion, in writing, of the principal officer in each of the executive departments upon any subject relating to the duties of their respective offices; and he shall have power to grant reprieves and pardons for offences against the Confederate States, except in cases of impeachment.

2. He shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make treaties, provided two-thirds of the senators present concur; and he shall nominate, and, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, shall appoint ambassadors, other public ministers, and consuls, judges of the Supreme Court, and all other officers of the Confederate States, whose appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by law; but the Congress may, by law, vest the appointment of such inferior officers, as they think proper, in the President alone, in the courts of law, or in the heads of departments.

3. The principal officer in each of the executive departments, and all persons connected with the diplomatic service, may be removed from office at the pleasure

of the President. All other civil officers of the executive department may be removed at any time by the President, or other appointing power, when their services are unnecessary, or for dishonesty, incapacity, inefficiency, misconduct, or neglect of duty; and when so removed, the removal shall be reported to the Senate, together with the reasons therefor.

4. The President shall have power to fill all vacancies that may happen during the recess of the Senate, by granting commissions, which shall expire at the end of their next session; but no person rejected by the Senate shall be reappointed to the same office during their ensuing recess.

SECTION III.—1. The President shall, from time to time, give to the Congress information of the state of the Confederacy, and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient; he may, on extraordinary occasions, convene both Houses, or either of them; and in case of disagreement between them with respect to the time of adjournment, he may adjourn them to such time as he shall think proper; he shall receive ambassadors and other public ministers; he shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed, and shall commission all the officers of the Confederate States.

SECTION IV.—1. The President, Vice-President, and all civil officers of the Confederate States shall be removed from office on impeachment for, and conviction of, treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors.

ARTICLE III.

SECTION I.—1. The judicial power of the Confederate States shall be vested in one superior court, and in such inferior courts as the Congress may, from time to time, ordain and establish. The judges, both of the supreme and inferior courts, shall hold their offices during good behaviour, and shall, at stated times, receive for their services a compensation, which shall not be diminished during their continuance in office.

SECTION II.—1. The judicial power shall extend to all cases arising under this Constitution, the laws of the Confederate States, and treaties made or which shall be made under their authority; to all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls; to all cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction; to controversies to which the Confederate States shall be a party; to controversies between two or more States; between a State and citizens of another State, where the State is plaintiff; between citizens claiming lands under grants of different States, and between a State, or the citizens thereof, and foreign States, citizens, or subjects; but no State shall be sued by a citizen or subject of any foreign State.

2. In all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, and those in which a State shall be a party, the supreme court shall have original jurisdiction. In all the other cases before mentioned the supreme court shall have appellate jurisdiction, both as to law and fact, with such exceptions and under such regulations as the Congress shall make.

3. The trial of all crimes, except in cases of impeachment, shall be by jury, and such trial shall be held in the State where the said crime shall have been committed; but when not committed within any State, the trial shall be at such place or places as the Congress may by law have directed.

SECTION III.—1. Treason against the Confederate States shall consist only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort. No person shall be convicted of treason unless on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act, or on confession in open court.

2. The Congress shall have power to declare the punishment of treason, but no attainder of treason shall work corruption of blood, or forfeiture, except during the life of the person attainted.

ARTICLE IV.

SECTION I.—1. Full faith and credit shall be given in each State to the public acts, records, and judicial proceedings of every other State. And the Congress may, by general laws, prescribe the manner in which such acts, records, and proceedings shall be proved, and the effect thereof.

SECTION II.—1. The citizens of each State shall be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States, and shall have the right of transit and sojourn in any State of this Confederacy, with their slaves and other property; and the right of property in such slaves shall not be thereby impaired.

2. A person charged in any State with treason, felony, or other crime against the laws of such State, who shall flee from justice and be found in another State, shall, on demand of the executive authority of the State from which he fled, be delivered up to be removed to the State having jurisdiction of the crime.

3. No slave or other person held to service or labour in any State or territory of the Confederate States, under the laws thereof, escaping or lawfully carried into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labour, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such slave belongs, or to whom such service or labour may be due.

SECTION III.—1. Other States may be admitted into this Confederacy by a vote of two-thirds of the whole House of Representatives and two-thirds of the Senate, the Senate voting by States; but no new State shall be formed or erected within the jurisdiction of any other State; nor any State be formed by the junction of two or more States, or parts of States, without the consent of the Legislatures of the States concerned, as well as of the Congress.

2. The Congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations concerning the property of the Confederate States, including the lands thereof.

3. The Confederate States may acquire new territory, and Congress shall have power to legislate and provide governments for the inhabitants of all territory belonging to the Confederate States lying without the limits of the several States, and may permit them, at such times and in such manner as it may by law provide, to

form States to be admitted into the Confederacy. In all such territory the institution of negro slavery as it now exists in the Confederate States shall be recognized and protected by Congress and by the territorial Government, and the inhabitants of the several Confederate States and territories shall have the right to take to such territory any slaves lawfully held by them in any of the States or territories of the Confederate States.

4. The Confederate States shall guarantee to every State that now is, or hereafter may become, a member of this Confederacy a Republican form of Government, and shall protect each of them against invasion; and on application of the Legislature (or of the Executive when the Legislature is not in Session) against domestic violence.

ARTICLE V.

SECTION I.—1. Upon the demand of any three States, legally assembled in their several Conventions, the Congress shall summon a Convention of all the States, to take into consideration such amendments to the Constitution as the said State shall concur in suggesting at the time when the said demand is made; and should any of the proposed amendments to the Constitution be agreed on by the said Convention—voting by States—and the same be ratified by the Legislatures of two-thirds of the several States, or by Conventions in two-thirds thereof—as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by the general Convention—they shall henceforward form a part of this Constitution. But no State shall, without its consent, be deprived of its equal representation in the Senate.

ARTICLE VI.

1. The Government established by this Constitution is the successor of the Provisional Government of the Confederate States of America, and all the laws passed by the latter shall continue in force until the same shall be repealed or modified; and all the officers appointed by the same shall remain in office until their successors are appointed and qualified or the offices abolished.

2. All debts contracted and engagements entered into before the adoption of this Constitution shall be as valid against the Confederate States under this Constitution as under the Provisional Government.

3. This Constitution and the laws of the Confederate States, made in pursuance thereof, and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the Confederate States, shall be the supreme law of the land; and the judges in every State shall be bound thereby, anything in the Constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding.

4. The senators and representatives before mentioned and the members of the several State Legislatures, and all executive and judicial officers, both of the Confederate States and of the several States, shall be bound by oath or affirmation to support this Constitution; but no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the Confederate States.

5. The enumeration, in the Constitution, of certain rights, shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people of the several States.

6. The powers not delegated to the Confederate States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States, respectively, or to the people thereof.

ARTICLE VII.

1. The ratification of the Conventions of five States shall be sufficient for the establishment of this Constitution, between the States so ratifying the same.

2. When five States shall have ratified this Constitution, in the manner before specified, the Congress under the provisional Constitution shall prescribe the time for holding the election of President and Vice-President; and for the meeting of the electoral college; and for counting the votes and inaugurating the President. They shall also prescribe the time for holding the first election of members of Congress under this Constitution, and the time for assembling the same. Until the assembling of such Congress, the Congress under the provisional Constitution shall continue to exercise the legislative powers granted them, not extending beyond the time limited by the Constitution of the provisional Government.

Adopted unanimously, March 11, 1861.

(C.)*

CONSTITUTION OF THE CONFEDERATE STATES.

WHEREIN IT DIFFERS WITH THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES.

We note the principal points of difference between the permanent Constitution of the Confederate States and the Constitution of the United States of America, as follows:—

1. The preamble invokes "the favour and guidance of Almighty God."

2. Any judicial or other federal officer, resident and acting solely within the limits of any State, may be impeached by a vote of two-thirds of both branches of the Legislature of such State.

3. Congress may, by law, grant to the principal officer in each of the executive departments a seat upon the floor of either House, with the privilege of discussing any measures appertaining to his department.

4. The President may approve any appropriation and disapprove any other appropriation in the same Bill.

5. The general welfare clause is omitted.

6. No bounties can be granted from the treasury, and no duties or taxes on

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* From the *New York Herald* of March 27th, 1861.

importations from foreign nations shall be laid to promote or foster any branch of industry.

7. Congress shall have no power to appropriate money for any internal improvement intended to facilitate commerce, except for the purpose of furnishing lights, beacons, buoys, and other aids to navigation on the coasts, and the improvement of harbours, and the removing of obstructions in rivers, and in all such cases such duties shall be laid on the navigation facilitated as may be necessary to pay the costs and expenses thereof.

8. The expenses of the Post Office Department, after the 1st of March, 1863, shall be paid out of its own revenue.

9. The importation of negroes of the African race from any foreign country, other than the slave-holding States and Territories of the United States, is forbidden.

10. Congress shall have power to prohibit the introduction of slaves from any State not a member of or Territory not belonging to the Confederacy.

11. Congress shall appropriate no money, unless it be asked and estimated for by some one of the heads of departments, and submitted by the President, unless by a vote of two-thirds of both Houses, taken by yeas and nays—or to pay its own expenses—or claims adjudicated against the Confederacy.

12. Congress is required to establish a tribunal to adjudicate claims against the Government.

13. Congress can grant no extra compensation to any contractor, officer, agent or servant, after contract made or service rendered.

14. Every law shall relate to but one subject, and that shall be expressed in the title.

15. When any river divides or flows through two or more States they may enter into compacts to improve its navigation.

16. The President holds his office for six years, and is not re-eligible.

17. Upon removal of civil officers in the executive department, except Cabinet officers, and officers connected with the diplomatic service, the President shall report the removal to the Senate, with his reasons therefor.

18. The citizens of one State cannot sue the citizens of another State in the Federal courts.

19. Citizens of each State shall have the right of transit and sojourn in any State of the Confederacy with their slaves and other property, and the right of property in slaves shall not thereby be impaired.

20. Other States shall be admitted by a vote of two-thirds of the whole House of Representatives, and two-thirds of the Senate voting by States.

21. The institution of negro slavery shall be recognized and protected in the territory, by Congress and the Territorial Governments. And the citizens of all the States shall have the right to take their slaves to the territory.

22. The Constitution shall be amended upon the demand of any three States for a Convention of all the States suggesting the amendments. And if the Conven-

tion of all the States concur in the amendments, and they are ratified by two-thirds of the State Legislatures or Conventions, they shall be a part of the Constitution.

23. Congress shall pass no law impairing or denying the right of property in negro slaves.

(D.)

THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL PLATFORM, ADOPTED AT CHICAGO, 1860.

Resolved, That we, the delegated representatives of the Republican electors of the United States, in Convention assembled, in discharge of the duty we owe to our constituents and our country, unite in the following declarations :

1. That the history of the nation, during the last four years, has fully established the propriety and necessity of the organization and perpetuation of the Republican party, and that the causes which called it into existence are permanent in their nature, and now, more than ever before, demand its peaceful and constitutional triumph.

2. That the maintenance of the principles promulgated in the Declaration of Independence and embodied in the Federal Constitution, "That all men are created equal ; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights ; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness ; that to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed," is essential to the preservation of our Republican institutions ; and that the Federal Constitution, the Rights of the States, and the Union of the States, must and shall be preserved.

3. That to the Union of the States this nation owes its unprecedented increase in population, its surprising development of material resources, its rapid augmentation of wealth, its happiness at home and its honour abroad ; and we hold in abhorrence all schemes for Disunion, come from whatever source they may : And we congratulate the country that no Republican member of Congress has uttered or countenanced the threats of Disunion so often made by Democratic members, without rebuke and with applause from their political associates ; and we denounce those threats of Disunion, in case of a popular overthrow of their ascendancy, as denying the vital principles of a free government, and as an avowal of contemplated treason, which it is the imperative duty of an indignant people sternly to rebuke and for ever silence.

4. That the maintenance inviolate of the rights of the States, and especially the right of each State to order and control its own domestic institutions according to its own judgment exclusively, is essential to that balance of powers on which the perfection and endurance of our political fabric depends ; and we denounce the

lawless invasion by armed force of the soil of any State or Territory, no matter under what pretext, as among the gravest of crimes.

5. That the present Democratic Administration has far exceeded our worst apprehensions, in its measureless subserviency to the exactions of a sectional interest, as especially evinced in its desperate exertions to force the infamous Lecompton Constitution upon the protesting people of Kansas; in construing the personal relation between master and servant to involve an unqualified property in persons; in its attempted enforcement, everywhere, on land and sea, through the intervention of Congress and of the Federal Courts, of the extreme pretensions of a purely local interest; and in its general and unvarying abuse of the power intrusted to it by a confiding people.

6. That the people justly view with alarm the reckless extravagance which pervades every department of the Federal Government; that a return to rigid economy and accountability is indispensable to arrest the systematic plunder of the public treasury by favoured partisans, while the recent startling developments of frauds and corruptions at the Federal metropolis, show that an entire change of administration is imperatively demanded.

7. That the new dogma, that the Constitution, of its own force, carries slavery in any or all of the Territories of the United States, is a dangerous political heresy, at variance with the explicit provisions of that instrument itself, with contemporaneous exposition, and with legislative and judicial precedent; is revolutionary in its tendency, and subversive of the peace and harmony of the country.

8. That the nominal condition of all the territory of the United States is that of freedom; that as our Republican fathers, when they had abolished slavery in all our national territory, ordained that "no person should be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law," it becomes our duty, by legislation, whenever such legislation is necessary, to maintain this provision of the Constitution against all attempts to violate it; and we deny the authority of Congress, of a territorial legislature, or of any individuals, to give legal existence to slavery in any Territory of the United States.

9. That we brand the recent reopening of the African slave-trade, under the cover of our national flag, aided by perversions of judicial power, as a crime against humanity and a burning shame to our country and age; and we call upon Congress to take prompt and efficient measures for the total and final suppression of that execrable traffic.

10. That in the recent vetoes, by their Federal Governors, of the Acts of the Legislatures of Kansas and Nebraska, prohibiting slavery in those Territories, we find a practical illustration of the boasted Democratic principle of non-intervention and popular sovereignty, embodied in the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, and a demonstration of the deception and fraud involved therein.

11. That Kansas should, of right, be immediately admitted as a State under the Constitution recently formed and adopted by her people, and accepted by the House of Representatives.

12. That, while providing revenue for the support of the general Government by duties upon imports, sound policy requires such an adjustment of these imposts as to encourage the development of the industrial interest of the whole country; and we commend that policy of national exchanges which secures to the working men liberal wages, to agriculture remunerative prices, to mechanics and manufactures an adequate reward for their skill, labour, and enterprise, and to the nation commercial prosperity and independence.

13. That we protest against any sale or alienation to others of the public lands held by actual settlers, and against any view of the homestead policy which regards the settlers as paupers or suppliants for public bounty; and we demand the passage by Congress of the complete and satisfactory homestead measure which has already passed the House.

14. That the Republican party is opposed to any change in our naturalization laws or any State legislation by which the rights of citizenship hitherto accorded to immigrants from foreign lands shall be abridged or impaired; and in favour of giving a full and efficient protection to the rights of all classes of citizens, whether native or naturalized, both at home and abroad.

15. That appropriations by Congress for river and harbour improvements of a national character, required for the accommodation and security of an existing commerce, are authorized by the Constitution, and justified by the obligations of Government to protect the lives and property of its citizens.

16. That a railroad to the Pacific Ocean is imperatively demanded by the interest of the whole country; that the Federal Government ought to render immediate and efficient aid in its construction; and that, as preliminary thereto, a daily overland mail should be promptly established.

17. Finally, having thus set forth our distinctive principles and views, we invite the co-operation of all citizens, however differing on other questions, who substantially agree with us in their affirmance and support.

(E.)

THE NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM,

ADOPTED AT CINCINNATI IN 1856, AND READOPTED WITH AMENDMENTS IN 1860.

Resolved, That the American Democracy place their trust in the intelligence, the patriotism, and the discriminating justice of the American people.

Resolved, That we regard this as a distinctive feature of our political creed, which we are proud to maintain before the world as a great moral element in a form of government springing from and upheld by the popular will; and we contrast it with the creed and practice of Federalism, under whatever name or form,

which seeks to palsy the will of the constituent, and which conceives no imposture too monstrous for the popular credulity.

Resolved, therefore, That, entertaining these views, the Democratic party of this Union, through their delegates, assembled in general Convention, coming together in a spirit of concord, of devotion to the doctrines and faith of a free representative Government, and appealing to their fellow-citizens for the rectitude of their intentions, renew and reassert before the American people, the declarations of principles avowed by them, when, on former occasions, in general Convention, they have presented their candidates for the popular suffrage.

1. That the Federal Government is one of limited power, derived solely from the Constitution, and the grants of power made therein ought to be strictly construed by all the departments and agents of the Government, and that it is inexpedient and dangerous to exercise doubtful constitutional powers.

2. That the Constitution does not confer upon the general Government the power to commence and carry on a general system of internal improvements.

3. That the Constitution does not confer authority upon the Federal Government, directly or indirectly, to assume the debts of the several States, contracted for local and internal improvements, or other State purposes, nor would such assumption be just or expedient.

4. That justice and sound policy forbid the Federal Government to foster one branch of industry to the detriment of another, or to cherish the interests of one portion of our common country to the detriment of another; that every citizen and every section of the country has a right to demand and insist upon an equality of rights and privileges, and a complete and ample protection of persons and property from domestic violence and foreign aggression.

5. That it is the duty of every branch of the Government to enforce and practise the most rigid economy in conducting our public affairs, and that no more revenue ought to be raised than is required to defray the necessary expenses of the Government, and provide for the gradual but certain extinction of the public debt.

6. That the proceeds of the public lands ought to be sacredly applied to the national objects specified in the Constitution, and that we are opposed to any law for the distribution of such proceeds among the States, as alike inexpedient in policy, and repugnant to the Constitution.

7. That Congress has no power to charter a National Bank; that we believe such an institution one of deadly hostility to the best interests of this country, dangerous to our Republican institutions and the liberties of the people, and calculated to place the business of the country within the control of a concentrated money power, and above the laws and will of the people; and the results of the Democratic legislation in this and all other financial measures upon which issues have been made between the two political parties of the country, have demonstrated to candid and practical men of all parties their soundness, safety, and utility in all business pursuits.

8. That the separation of the moneys of the Government from banking institutions is indispensable to the safety of the funds of the Government and the rights of the people.

9. That we are decidedly opposed to taking from the President the qualified veto power, by which he is enabled, under restrictions and responsibilities amply sufficient to guard the public interest, to suspend the passage of a Bill whose merits cannot secure the approval of two-thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, until the judgment of the people can be obtained thereon, and which has saved the American people from the corrupt and tyrannical dominion of the Bank of the United States, and from a corrupting system of general internal improvements.

10. That the liberal principles embodied by Jefferson in the Declaration of Independence, and sanctioned in the Constitution, which makes ours the land of liberty and the asylum of the oppressed of every nation, have ever been cardinal principles in the Democratic faith; and every attempt to abridge the privilege of becoming citizens and the owners of soil among us ought to be resisted with the same spirit which swept the alien and sedition laws from our statute-books.

And whereas, Since the foregoing declaration was uniformly adopted by our predecessors in national Conventions, an adverse political and religious test has been secretly organized by a party claiming to be exclusively Americans, and it is proper that the American Democracy should clearly define its relations thereto; and declare its determined opposition to all secret political societies, by whatever name they may be called.

Resolved, That the foundation of this Union of States having been laid in, and its prosperity, expansion, and pre-eminent example in free government, built upon entire freedom in matters of religious concernment, and no respect of persons in regard to rank, or place of birth, no party can justly be deemed national, constitutional, or in accordance with American principles, which bases its exclusive organization upon religious opinions and accidental birthplace. And hence a political crusade in the nineteenth century, and in the United States of America, against Catholics and foreign-born, is neither justified by the past history or future prospects of the country, nor in unison with the spirit of toleration and enlightened freedom, which peculiarly distinguishes the American system of popular government.

Resolved, That we reiterate with renewed energy of purpose the well-considered declarations of former Conventions upon the sectional issue of domestic slavery, and concerning the reserved rights of the States—

1. That Congress has no power under the Constitution to interfere with or control the domestic institutions of the several States, and that all such States are the sole and proper judges of everything appertaining to their own affairs not prohibited by the Constitution; that all efforts of the abolitionists or others made to induce Congress to interfere with questions of slavery, or to take incipient steps in relation thereto, are calculated to lead to the most alarming and dangerous consequences, and that all such efforts have an inevitable tendency to diminish the

happiness of the people, and endanger the stability and permanency of the Union, and ought not to be countenanced by any friend of our political institutions.

2. That the foregoing proposition covers and was intended to embrace the whole subject of slavery agitation in Congress, and therefore the Democratic party of the Union, standing on this national platform, will abide by and adhere to a faithful execution of the Acts known as the Compromise measures, settled by the Congress of 1850, "the Act for reclaiming fugitives from service or labour" included, which Act being designed to carry out an express provision of the Constitution, cannot, with fidelity thereto, be repealed, or so changed as to destroy or impair its efficiency.

3. That the Democratic party will resist all attempts at renewing in Congress, or out of it, the agitation of the slavery question, under whatever shape or colour the attempt may be made.

4. That the Democratic party will faithfully abide by and uphold the principles laid down in the Kentucky and Virginia resolutions of 1798 and 1799, and in the report of Mr. Madison to the Virginia Legislature in 1799—that it adopts these principles as constituting one of the main foundations of its political creed, and is resolved to carry them out in their obvious meaning and import.

And that we may the more distinctly meet the issue on which a sectional party, subsisting exclusively on slavery agitation, now relies to test the fidelity of the people, North and South, to the Constitution and the Union—

1. *Resolved*, That claiming fellowship with, and desiring co-operation of all who regard the preservation of the Union under the Constitution as the paramount issue, and repudiating all sectional parties and platforms concerning domestic slavery, which seek to embroil the States and incite to treason and armed resistance to law in the Territories, and whose avowed purpose, if consummated, must end in civil war and disunion, the American Democracy recognize and adopt the principles contained in the organic laws establishing the territories of Nebraska and Kansas, as embodying the only sound and safe solution of the slavery question, upon which the great national idea of the people of this whole country can repose in its determined conservation of the Union, and non-interference of Congress with slavery in the Territories or in the District of Columbia.

2. That this was the basis of the compromises of 1850, confirmed by both the Democratic and Whig parties in national Conventions, ratified by the people in the elections of 1852, and rightly applied to the organization of the Territories in 1854.

3. That by the uniform application of the Democratic principle to the organization of Territories, and the admission of new States, with or without domestic slavery, as they may elect, the equal rights of all the States will be preserved intact, the original compacts of the Constitution maintained inviolate, and the perpetuity and expansion of the Union insured to its utmost capacity of embracing, in peace and harmony, every future American State that may be constituted or annexed with a Republican form of Government.

Resolved, That we recognize the right of the people of all the Territories, including Kansas and Nebraska, acting through the legally and fairly expressed will of the majority of the actual residents, and whenever the number of their inhabitants justifies it, to form a Constitution, with or without domestic slavery, and be admitted into the Union upon terms of perfect equality with the other States.

Resolved, finally, That in view of the condition of the popular institutions in the Old World (and the dangerous tendencies of sectional agitation, combined with the attempts to enforce civil and religious disabilities against the rights of acquiring and enjoying citizenship in our own land), a high and sacred duty is involved with increased responsibility upon the Democratic party of this country, as the party of the Union, to uphold and maintain the rights of every State, and thereby the Union of the States—and to sustain and advance among us constitutional liberty, by continuing to resist all monopolies and exclusive legislation for the benefit of the few at the expense of the many, and by a vigilant and constant adherence to those principles and compromises of the Constitution—which are broad enough and strong enough to embrace and uphold the Union as it was, the Union as it is, and the Union as it shall be—in the full expression of the energies and capacity of this great and progressive people.

1. *Resolved*, That there are questions connected with the foreign policy of this country, which are inferior to no domestic question whatever. The time has come for the people of the United States to declare themselves in favour of free seas, and progressive free trade throughout the world, and, by solemn manifestations, to place their moral influence at the side of their successful example.

2. *Resolved*, That our geographical and political position with reference to the other States of this continent, no less than the interest of our commerce and the development of our growing power, requires that we should hold sacred the principles involved in the Monroe doctrine. Their bearing and import admit of no misconstruction, and should be applied with unbending rigidity.

3. *Resolved*, That the great highway, which nature as well as the assent of States most immediately interested in its maintenance has marked out for free communications between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, constitutes one of the most important achievements realized by the spirit of modern times, in the unconquerable energy of our people; and that result would be secured by a timely and efficient exertion of the control which we have the right to claim over it, and no power on earth should be suffered to impede or clog its progress by any interference with relations that it may suit our policy to establish between our Government and the Government of the States within whose dominions it lies; we can under no circumstances surrender our preponderance in the adjustment of all questions arising out of it.

4. *Resolved*, That in view of so commanding an interest, the people of the United States cannot but sympathize with the efforts which are being made by the people of Central America to regenerate that portion of the continent which covers the passage across the interoceanic isthmus.

5. *Resolved*, That the Democratic party will expect of the next Administration that every proper effort be made to insure our ascendancy in the Gulf of Mexico, and to maintain permanent protection to the great outlets through which are emptied into its waters the products raised out of the soil and the commodities created by the industry of the people of our Western valleys and of the Union at large.

Resolved, That the Administration of Franklin Pierce has been true to Democratic principles, and therefore true to the great interests of the country; in the face of violent opposition, he has maintained the laws at home, and vindicated the rights of American citizens abroad; and therefore we proclaim our unqualified admiration of his measures and policy.

AMENDMENTS OF THE BRECKENRIDGE PARTY,

ADOPTED AT CHARLESTON AND BALTIMORE, 1860.

Resolved, That the Platform adopted by the Democratic party at Cincinnati be affirmed, with the following explanatory Resolutions:

1. That the Government of a Territory organized by an act of Congress, is provisional and temporary; and during its existence, all citizens of the United States have an equal right to settle with their property in the Territory, without their rights, either of person or property, being destroyed or impaired by Congressional or Territorial legislation.

2. That it is the duty of the Federal Government, in all its departments, to protect, when necessary, the rights of persons and property in the Territories, and wherever else its constitutional authority extends.

3. That when the settlers in a Territory having an adequate population, form a State Constitution, in pursuance of law, the right of sovereignty commences, and, being consummated by admission into the Union, they stand on an equal footing with the people of other States; and the State thus organized ought to be admitted into the Federal Union, whether its Constitution prohibits or recognizes the institution of slavery.

4. That the Democratic party are in favour of the acquisition of the Island of Cuba, on such terms as shall be honourable to ourselves and just to Spain, at the earliest practicable moment.

5. That the enactments of State Legislatures to defeat the faithful execution of the Fugitive Slave Law are hostile in character, subversive of the Constitution, and revolutionary in their effect.

6. That the democracy of the United States recognize it as the imperative duty of this Government to protect the naturalized citizen in all his rights, whether at home or in foreign lands, to the same extent as its native-born citizens.

Whereas, one of the greatest necessities of the age in a political, commercial, postal, and military point of view, is a speedy communication between the Pacific and Atlantic coasts; therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Democratic party do hereby pledge themselves to use every means in their power to secure the passage of some Bill to the extent of the constitutional authority of Congress for the construction of a Pacific railroad from the Mississippi River to the Pacific Ocean, at the earliest practicable moment.

AMENDMENTS OF THE DOUGLAS PARTY,

ADOPTED AT CHARLESTON AND BALTIMORE, 1860.

1. *Resolved*, That we, the Democracy of the Union, in Convention assembled, hereby declare our affirmance of the Resolutions unanimously adopted and declared as a Platform of principles by the Democratic Convention at Cincinnati, in the year 1856, believing that Democratic principles are unchangeable in their nature, when applied to the same subject matters; and we recommend, as the only further Resolutions, the following:

Inasmuch as differences of opinion exist in the Democratic party as to the nature and extent of the powers of a Territorial Legislature, and as to the powers and duties of Congress, under the Constitution of the United States, over the institution of slavery within the Territories:

2. *Resolved*, That the Democratic party will abide by the decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States on the questions of constitutional law.

3. *Resolved*, That it is the duty of the United States to afford ample and complete protection to all its citizens, whether at home or abroad, and whether native or foreign.

4. *Resolved*, That one of the necessities of the age, in a military, commercial, and postal point of view, is speedy communication between the Atlantic and Pacific States; and the Democratic party pledge such constitutional Government aid as will insure the construction of a railroad to the Pacific coast, at the earliest practicable period.

5. *Resolved*, That the Democratic party are in favour of the acquisition of the Island of Cuba, on such terms as shall be honourable to ourselves and just to Spain.

6. *Resolved*, That the enactments of State Legislatures to defeat the faithful execution of the Fugitive Slave Law, are hostile in character, subversive of the Constitution, and revolutionary in their effect.

7. *Resolved*, That it is in accordance with the true interpretation of the Cincinnati Platform, that, during the existence of the Territorial Governments, the measure of restriction, whatever it may be, imposed by the Federal Constitution on the power of the Territorial Legislature over the subject of the domestic relations, as the same has been, or shall hereafter be, finally determined by the Supreme Court of the United States, shall be respected by all good citizens, and enforced with promptness and fidelity by every branch of the general Government.

(F.)

THE CONSTITUTIONAL UNION PLATFORM (BELL-EVERETT), ADOPTED AT BALTIMORE, 1860.

Whereas, Experience has demonstrated that Platforms adopted by the partisan Conventions of the country have had the effect to mislead and deceive the people, and at the same time to widen the political divisions of the country, by the creation and encouragement of geographical and sectional parties; therefore,

Resolved, That it is both the part of patriotism and of duty *to recognize* no political principle other than THE CONSTITUTION OF THE COUNTRY, THE UNION OF THE STATES, AND THE ENFORCEMENT OF THE LAWS, and that as representatives of the constitutional Union men of the country in National Convention assembled, we hereby pledge ourselves to maintain, protect, and defend, separately and unitedly, these great principles of public liberty and national safety, against all enemies at home and abroad, believing that thereby peace may once more be restored to the country, the rights of the people and of the States re-established, and the Government again placed in that condition of justice, fraternity and equality, which, under the example and Constitution of our fathers, has solemnly bound every citizen of the United States to maintain a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity.

(G.)

THAT PORTION OF PRESIDENT BUCHANAN'S MESSAGE OF DECEMBER 3, 1860, WHICH TREATS OF THE NATIONAL CRISIS.

FELLOW CITIZENS OF THE SENATE AND HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,—

Throughout the year since our last meeting the country has been eminently prosperous in all its material interests. The general health has been excellent, our harvests have been abundant, and plenty smiles throughout the land. Our commerce and manufactures have been prosecuted with energy and industry, and have yielded fair and ample returns. In short, no nation in the tide of time has ever presented a spectacle of greater material prosperity than we have done until within a very recent period.

Why is it, then, that discontent now so extensively prevails, and the Union of the States, which is the source of all these blessings, is threatened with destruction? The long-continued and intemperate interference of the Northern people with the question of slavery in the Southern States has at length produced its natural effects. The different sections of the Union are now arrayed against

each other, and the time has arrived, so much dreaded by the Father of his country, when hostile geographical parties have been formed. I have long foreseen and often forewarned my countrymen of the now impending danger. This does not proceed solely from the claim on the part of Congress or the Territorial Legislatures to exclude slavery from the Territories, nor from the efforts of different States to defeat the execution of the Fugitive Slave Law. All or any of these evils might have been endured by the South without danger to the Union (as others have been), in the hope that time and reflection might apply the remedy. The immediate peril arises not so much from these causes as from the fact that the incessant and violent agitation of the slavery question throughout the North for the last quarter of a century has at length produced its malign influence on the slaves, and inspired them with vague notions of freedom. Hence, a sense of security no longer exists around the family altar. This feeling of peace at home has given place to apprehensions of servile insurrection. Many a matron throughout the South retires at night in dread of what may befall herself and her children before the morning. Should this apprehension of domestic danger, whether real or imaginary, extend and intensify itself until it shall pervade the masses of the Southern people, then disunion will become inevitable. Self-preservation is the first law of nature, and has been implanted in the heart of man by his Creator for the wisest purpose; and no political Union, however fraught with blessings and benefits in all other respects, can long continue, if the necessary consequence be to render the homes and the firesides of nearly half the parties to it habitually and hopelessly insecure. Sooner or later the bonds of such a Union must be severed. It is my conviction that this fatal period has not yet arrived; and my prayer to God is that He would preserve the Constitution and the Union throughout all generations.

But let us take warning in time, and remove the cause of danger. It cannot be denied that, for five and twenty years, the agitation at the North against slavery in the South has been incessant. In 1835 pictorial handbills and inflammatory appeals were circulated extensively throughout the South of a character to excite the passions of the slaves, and, in the language of General Jackson, "to stimulate them to insurrection, and produce all the horrors of a servile war." This agitation has ever since been continued by the public press, by the proceedings of State and county Conventions, and by abolition sermons and lectures. The time of Congress has been occupied in violent speeches on this never-ending subject; and appeals in pamphlets and other forms, endorsed by distinguished names, have been sent forth from this central point and spread broadcast over the Union.

How easy would it be for the American people to settle the slavery question for ever, and to restore peace and harmony to this distracted country!

They, and they alone, can do it. All that is necessary to accomplish the object, and all for which the slave States have ever contended, is to be let alone, and permitted to manage their domestic institutions in their own way. As sovereign

States, they, and they alone, are responsible before God and the world for the slavery existing among them. For this the people of the North are not more responsible, and have no more right to interfere than with similar institutions in Russia or in Brazil. Upon their good sense and patriotic forbearance I confess I still greatly rely. Without their aid it is beyond the power of any President, no matter what may be his own political proclivities, to restore peace and harmony among the States. Wisely limited and restrained as is his power, under our Constitution and laws, he alone can accomplish but little, for good or for evil, on such a momentous question.

And this brings me to observe that the election of any one of our fellow-citizens to the office of President does not of itself afford just cause for dissolving the Union. This is more especially true if his election has been effected by mere plurality, and not by a majority of the people, and has resulted from transient and temporary causes, which may probably never again occur. In order to justify a resort to revolutionary resistance, the Federal Government must be guilty of a deliberate, palpable, and dangerous exercise of powers not granted by the Constitution. The late Presidential election, however, has been held in strict conformity with its express provisions. How, then, can the result justify a revolution to destroy this very Constitution? Reason, justice, a regard for the Constitution, all require that we shall wait for some overt and dangerous act on the part of the President elect before resorting to such a remedy.

It is said, however, that the antecedents of the President elect have been sufficient to justify the fears of the South; that he will attempt to invade their Constitutional rights. But are such apprehensions of contingent danger in the future sufficient to justify the immediate destruction of the noblest system of government ever devised by mortals? From the very nature of his office, and his high responsibilities, he must necessarily be conservative. The stern duty of administering the vast and complicated concerns of this Government affords in itself a guarantee that he will not attempt any violation of a clear constitutional right. After all, he is no more than the chief executive officer of the Government. His province is not to make, but to execute the laws; and it is a remarkable fact in our history that, notwithstanding the repeated efforts of the anti-slavery party, no single Act has ever passed Congress, unless we may possibly except the Missouri Compromise, impairing in the slightest degree the rights of the South to their property in slaves. And it may also be observed, judging from present indications, that no probability exists of the passage of such an Act, by a majority of both Houses, either in the present or the next Congress. Surely, under these circumstances, we ought to be restrained from present action by the precepts of Him who spake as never man spake, that "sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof." The day of evil may never come, unless we shall rashly bring it upon ourselves.

It is alleged as one cause for immediate secession that the Southern States are denied equal rights with the other States in the common Territories. But by what authority are these denied? Not by Congress, which has never passed, and I believe

never will pass, any Act to exclude slavery from these Territories, and certainly not by the Supreme Court, which has solemnly decided that slaves are property, and, like all other property, their owners have a right to take them into the common Territories, and hold them there under the protection of the Constitution.

So far, then, as Congress is concerned, the objection is not to anything they have already done, but to what they may do hereafter. It will surely be admitted that this apprehension of future danger is no good reason for an immediate dissolution of the Union. It is true that the Territorial Legislature of Kansas, on the 23rd of February, 1860, passed in great haste an Act, over the veto of the Governor, declaring that slavery "is, and shall be, for ever prohibited in this Territory." Such an Act, however, plainly violating the rights of property secured by the Constitution, will surely be declared void by the judiciary whenever it shall be presented in a legal form.

Only three years after my inauguration, the Supreme Court of the United States solemnly adjudged that this power did not exist in a Territorial Legislature. Yet, such has been the factious temper of the times that the correctness of this decision has been extensively impugned before the people, and the question has given rise to angry political conflicts throughout the country. Those who have appealed from this judgment of our highest constitutional tribunal to popular assemblies would, if they could, invest a Territorial Legislature with power to annul the sacred rights of property. This power Congress is expressly forbidden by the Federal Constitution to exercise. Every State Legislature in the Union is forbidden by its own Constitution to exercise it. It cannot be exercised in any State except by the people in their high sovereign capacity when framing or amending their State Constitution. In like manner it can only be exercised by the people of a Territory represented in a Convention of delegates for the purpose of framing a Constitution preparatory to admission as a State into the Union. Then, and not until then, are they invested with power to decide the question whether slavery shall or shall not exist within their limits. This is an act of sovereign authority, and not of subordinate Territorial Legislation. Were it otherwise, then, indeed, would the equality of the States in the Territories be destroyed, and the rights of property in slaves would depend, not upon the guarantees of the Constitution, but upon the shifting majorities of an irresponsible Territorial Legislature. Such a doctrine, from its intrinsic unsoundness, cannot long influence any considerable portion of our people, much less can it afford a good reason for a dissolution of the Union.

The most palpable violations of constitutional duty which have yet been committed consist in the Acts of different State Legislatures to defeat the execution of the Fugitive Slave law. It ought to be remembered, however, that for these Acts neither Congress nor any President can justly be held responsible. Having been passed in violation of the Federal Constitution, they are, therefore, null and void. All the courts, both State and national, before whom the question has arisen, have from the beginning declared the Fugitive Slave Law to be constitutional. The single exception is that of a slave court in Wisconsin, and this has not only been reversed

by the proper appellate tribunal, but has met with such universal reprobation that there can be no danger from it as a precedent. The validity of this law has been established over and over again by the Supreme Court of the United States with perfect unanimity. It is founded upon an express provision of the Constitution requiring that fugitive slaves who escape from service in one State to another shall be "delivered up" to their masters. Without this provision it is a well-known historical fact that the Constitution itself could never have been adopted by the Convention. In one form or other under the Acts of 1793 and 1850, both being substantially the same, the Fugitive Slave Law has been the law of the land from the days of Washington until the present moment. Here, then, a clear case is presented, in which it will be the duty of the next President, as it has been my own, to act with vigour in executing this supreme law against the conflicting enactments of State Legislature. Should he fail in the performance of this high duty, he will then have manifested a disregard of the Constitution and laws, to the great injury of the people of nearly one-half of the States of the Union. But are we to presume in advance that he will thus violate his duty? This would be at war with every principle of justice and of Christian charity. Let us wait for the overt act. The Fugitive Slave Law has been carried into execution in every contested case since the commencement of the present Administration, though often, it is to be regretted, with great loss and inconvenience to the master, and with considerable expense to the Government. Let us trust that the State Legislatures will repeal their unconstitutional and obnoxious enactments. Unless this shall be done without unnecessary delay, it is impossible for any human power to save the Union.

The Southern States, standing on the basis of the Constitution, have a right to demand this act of justice from the States of the North. Should it be refused, then the Constitution, to which all the States are parties, will have been wilfully violated by one portion of them in a provision essential to the domestic security and happiness of the remainder. In that event, the injured States, after having first used all peaceful and constitutional means to obtain redress, would be justified in revolutionary resistance to the Government of the Union.

I have purposely confined my remarks to revolutionary resistance, because it has been claimed within the last few years that any State, whenever this shall be its sovereign will and pleasure, may secede from the Union, in accordance with the Constitution, and without any violation of the constitutional rights of the other members of the Confederacy; that as each became parties to the Union by the vote of its own people assembled in Convention, so any one of them may retire from the Union in a similar manner by the vote of such a Convention.

In order to justify secession as a constitutional remedy, it must be on the principle that the Federal Government is a mere voluntary association of States, to be dissolved at pleasure by any one of the contracting parties. If this be so, the Confederacy is a rope of sand, to be penetrated and dissolved by the first adverse wave of public opinion in any one of the States. In this manner our thirty-three States may resolve themselves into as many petty, jarring, and hostile Republics,

each one retiring from the Union, without responsibility, whenever any sudden excitement might impel them to such a course. By this process a Union might be entirely broken into fragments in a few weeks, which cost our forefathers many years of toil, privation, and blood to establish.

Such a principle is wholly inconsistent with the history as well as the character of the Federal Constitution. After it was framed, with the greatest deliberation and care, it was submitted to Conventions of the people of the several States for ratification. Its provisions were discussed at length in these bodies, composed of the first men of the country. Its opponents contended that it conferred powers upon the Federal Government dangerous to the rights of the States, while its advocates maintained that, under a fair construction of the instrument, there was no foundation for such apprehensions. In that mighty struggle between the first intellects of this or any other country, it never occurred to any individual, either among its opponents or advocates, to assert, or even to intimate, that their efforts were all vain labour, because the moment that any State felt herself aggrieved she might secede from the Union. What a crushing argument would this have proved against those who dreaded that the rights of the States would be endangered by the Constitution! The truth is, that it was not until many years after the origin of the Federal Government that such a proposition was first advanced. It was then met, and refuted, by the conclusive arguments of General Jackson, who, in his Message of the 16th of January, 1833, transmitting the nullifying ordinance of South Carolina to Congress, employs the following language:—"The right of the people of a single State to absolve themselves at will, and without the consent of the other States, from their most solemn obligations, and hazard the liberty and happiness of the millions composing this Union, cannot be acknowledged. Such authority is believed to be utterly repugnant both to the principles upon which the general Government is constituted, and to the objects which it was expressly formed to attain."

It is not pretended that any clause in the Constitution gives countenance to such a theory. It is altogether founded upon inference, not from any language contained in the instrument itself, but from the sovereign character of the several States by which it was ratified. But is it beyond the power of a State, like an individual, to yield a portion of its sovereign rights to secure the remainder? In the language of Mr. Madison, who has been called the Father of the Constitution, "it was formed by the States—that is, by the people in each of the States—acting in their highest sovereign capacity, and formed, consequently, by the same authority which formed the State Constitutions. Nor is the Government of the United States, created by the Constitution, less a Government, in the strict sense of the term, within the sphere of its powers, than the Governments created by the Constitutions of the States are within their several spheres. It is, like them, organized into legislative, executive, and judiciary departments. It operates, like them, directly on persons and things, and, like them, it has at command a physical force for executing the powers committed to it."

It was intended to be perpetual, and not to be annulled at the pleasure of any

one of the contracting parties. The old Articles of the Confederation were entitled "Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union between the States;" and by the 13th Article it is expressly declared that "the Articles of this Confederation shall be inviolably observed by every State, and the Union shall be perpetual." The preamble to the Constitution of the United States, having express reference to the Articles of Confederation, recites that it was established "in order to form a more perfect Union." And yet it is contended that this "more perfect Union" does not include the essential attribute of perpetuity.

But that the Union was designed to be perpetual appears conclusively from the nature and extent of the powers conferred by the Constitution on the Federal Government. These powers embrace the very highest attributes of national sovereignty. They place both the sword and the purse under its control. Congress has power to make war, and to make peace, to raise and support armies and navies, and to conclude treaties with foreign Governments. It is invested with the power to coin money, and to regulate the value thereof, and to regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several States. It is not necessary to enumerate the other high powers which have been conferred upon the Federal Government. In order to carry the enumerated powers into effect, Congress possesses the exclusive right to lay and collect duties on imports, and, in common with the States, to lay and collect all other taxes.

But the Constitution has not only conferred these high powers upon Congress, but it has adopted effectual means to restrain the States from interfering with their exercise. For that purpose it has, in strong prohibitory language, expressly declared that "no State shall enter into any treaty, alliance, or confederation; grant letters of marque and reprisal; coin money; emit bills of credit; make anything but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts; pass any bill of attainder, *ex post facto* law, or law impairing the obligation of contracts." Moreover, "without the consent of Congress, no State shall lay any imposts or duties on any imports or exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection laws;" and if they exceed this amount, the excess shall belong to the United States.

And "no State shall, without the consent of Congress, lay any duty of tonnage; keep troops or ships of war in time of peace; enter into any agreement or compact with another State, or with a foreign Power; or engage in war, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent danger as will not admit of delay."

In order still further to secure the uninterrupted exercise of these high powers against State interposition, it is provided "that this Constitution and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof, and all treaties made, or which shall be made under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land, and the judges in every State shall be bound thereby, anything in the Constitution or laws of one State to the contrary notwithstanding."

The solemn sanction of religion has been superadded to the obligations of official

duty, and all senators and representatives of the United States, all members of State Legislatures, and all executive or judicial officers "both of the United States and of the several States, shall be bound by oath or affirmation to support this Constitution."

In order to carry into effect these powers, the Constitution has established a perfect Government in all its forms—legislative, executive, and judicial; and this Government, to the extent of its powers, acts directly upon the individual citizens of every State, and executes its own decrees by the agency of its own officers. In this respect it differs entirely from the Government under the old Confederation, which was confined to making requisitions on the States in their sovereign character. This left it in the direction of each whether to obey or to refuse, and they often declined to comply with such requisitions. It thus became necessary, for the purpose of removing this barrier, and "in order to form a more perfect Union," to establish a Government which could act directly upon the people and execute its own laws without the intermediate agency of the States. This has been accomplished by the Constitution of the United States.

In short, the Government created by the Constitution, and deriving its authority from the sovereign people of each of the several States, has precisely the same right to exercise its power over the people of all these States, in the enumerated cases, that each one of them possesses over subjects not delegated to the United States, but "reserved to the States respectively, or to the people."

To the extent of the delegated powers, the Constitution of the United States is as much a part of the Constitution of each State, and is as binding upon its people, as though it had been textually inserted therein.

This Government, therefore, is a great and powerful Government, invested with all the attributes of sovereignty over the special subjects to which its authority extends. Its framers never intended to implant in its bosom the seeds of its own destruction, nor were they at its creation guilty of the absurdity of providing for its own dissolution. It was not intended by its framers to be the baseless fabric of a vision, which, at the touch of the enchanter, would vanish into thin air, but a substantial and mighty fabric, capable of resisting the slow decay of time, and of defying the storms of ages. Indeed, well may the jealous patriots of that day have indulged fears that a Government of such high powers might violate the reserved rights of the States, and wisely did they adopt the rule of a strict construction of these powers to prevent the danger. But they did not fear, nor had they any reason to imagine, that the Constitution would ever be so interpreted as to enable any State, by her own act, and without the consent of her sister States, to discharge her people from all or any of their Federal obligations.

It may be asked, then, are the people of the States without redress against the tyranny and oppression of the Federal Government? By no means. The right of resistance on the part of the governed against the oppression of their Governments cannot be denied. It exists independently of all Constitutions, and has been exercised at all periods of the world's history. Under it old Governments have been

destroyed, and new ones have taken their place. It is embodied in strong and express language in our own Declaration of Independence. But the distinction must ever be observed, that this is revolution against an established Government, and not a voluntary secession from it by virtue of an inherent constitutional right. In short, let us look the danger fairly in the face; secession is neither more nor less than revolution. It may or it may not be a justifiable revolution, but still it is revolution.

What, in the mean time, is the responsibility and true position of the Executive? He is bound by solemn oath before God and the country "to take care that the laws be faithfully executed," and from this obligation he cannot be absolved by any human power. But what if the performance of this duty, in whole or in part, has been rendered impracticable by events over which he could have exercised no control? Such, at the present moment, is the case throughout the State of South Carolina, so far as the laws of the United States to secure the administration of justice by means of the Federal judiciary are concerned. All the Federal officers within its limits, through whose agency alone these laws can be carried into execution, have already resigned. We no longer have a district judge, a district attorney, or a marshal in South Carolina; in fact, the whole machinery of the Federal Government necessary for the distribution of remedial justice among the people has been demolished, and it would be difficult, if not impossible, to replace it.

The only Acts of Congress on the statute-book bearing upon this subject are those of the 28th of February, 1795, and 3rd of March, 1807. These authorize the President, after he shall have ascertained that the marshal, with his *posse comitatus*, is unable to execute civil or criminal process in any particular case, to call forth the militia and employ the army and navy to aid him in performing this service, having first, by proclamation, commanded the insurgents "to disperse and retire peaceably to their respective abodes within a limited time." This duty cannot by possibility be performed in a State where no judicial authority exists to issue process, and where there is no marshal to execute it, and where, even if there were such an officer, the entire population would constitute one solid combination to resist him.

The bare enumeration of these provisions proves how inadequate they are, without further legislation, to overcome a united opposition in a single State, not to speak of other States who may place themselves in a similar attitude. Congress alone has power to decide whether the present laws can or cannot be amended, so as to carry out more effectually the objects of the Constitution.

The same insuperable obstacles do not lie in the way of executing the laws for the collection of the Customs. The revenue still continues to be collected as heretofore, at the custom-house in Charleston; and should the collector unfortunately resign, a successor may be appointed to perform this duty.

Then, in regard to the property of the United States in South Carolina, this has been purchased for a fair equivalent "by the consent of the Legislature of the State," "for the erection of forts, magazines, arsenals," &c., and over these the

authority "to exercise exclusive legislation" has been expressly granted by the Constitution to Congress. It is not believed that any attempt will be made to expel the United States from this property by force; but if in this I should prove to be mistaken, the officer in command of the forts has received orders to act strictly on the defensive. In such a contingency the responsibility for consequences would rightfully rest upon the heads of the assailants.

Apart from the execution of the laws, so far as this may be practicable, the Executive has no authority to decide what shall be the relations between the Federal Government and South Carolina. He has been invested with no such discretion. He possesses no power to change the relations heretofore existing between them, much less to acknowledge the independence of that State.' This would be to invest a mere executive officer with the power of recognising the dissolution of the Confederacy among our thirty-three sovereign States. It bears no resemblance to the recognition of a foreign *de facto* Government, involving no such responsibility. Any attempt to do this would, on his part, be a naked act of usurpation. It is, therefore, my duty to submit to Congress the whole question in all its bearings. The course of events is so rapidly hastening forward, that the emergency may soon arise when you may be called upon to decide the momentous question whether you possess the power, by force of arms, to compel a State to remain in the Union. I should feel myself recreant to my duty were I not to express an opinion on this important subject.

The question, fairly stated, is—Has the Constitution delegated to Congress the power to coerce a State into submission which is attempting to withdraw, or has actually withdrawn, from the Confederacy? If answered in the affirmative, it must be on the principle that the power has been conferred upon Congress to declare and to make war against a State. After much serious reflection, I have arrived at the conclusion that no such power has been delegated to Congress, or to any other department of the Federal Government. It is manifest, upon an inspection of the Constitution, that this is not among the specific and enumerated powers granted to Congress: and it is equally apparent that its exercise is not "necessary and proper for carrying into execution" any one of these powers. So far from this power having been delegated to Congress, it was expressly refused by the Convention which framed the Constitution.

It appears from the proceedings of that body, that on the 31st of May, 1787, the clause "authorizing an exertion of the force of the whole against a delinquent State" came up for consideration. Mr. Madison opposed it in a brief but powerful speech, from which I shall extract but a single sentence. He observed:—"The use of force against a State would look more like a declaration of war than any infliction of punishment, and would probably be considered by the party attacked as a dissolution of all previous compacts by which it might be bound." Upon this motion the clause was unanimously postponed, and was never, I believe, again presented. Soon afterwards—on the 8th of June, 1787—when incidentally adverting to the subject, he said:—"Any Government for the United States, formed on the

supposed practicability of using force against the unconstitutional proceedings of the States would prove as visionary and fallacious as the Government of Congress" —evidently meaning the then existing Congress of the old Confederation.

Without descending to particulars, it may be safely asserted that the power to make war against a State is at variance with the whole spirit and intent of the Constitution. Suppose such a war should result in the conquest of a State, how are we to govern it afterwards? Shall we hold it as a province, and govern it by despotic power? In the nature of things we could not, by physical force, control the will of the people, and compel them to elect senators and representatives to Congress, and to perform all the other duties depending upon their own volition, and required from the free citizens of a free State as a constituent member of the Confederacy.

But, if we possessed this power, would it be wise to exercise it under existing circumstances? The object would, doubtless, be to preserve the Union. War would not only present the most effectual means of destroying it, but would banish all hope of its peaceable reconstruction. Besides, in the fraternal conflict a vast amount of blood and treasure would be expended, rendering future reconciliation between the States impossible. In the mean time, who can foretell what would be the sufferings and privations of the people during its existence?

The fact is that our Union rests upon public opinion, and can never be cemented by the blood of its citizens shed in civil war. If it cannot live in the affections of the people, it must one day perish. Congress possesses many means of preserving it by conciliation; but the sword was not placed in their hands to preserve it by force.

But may I be permitted solemnly to invoke my countrymen to pause and deliberate before they determine to destroy this, the grandest temple which has ever been dedicated to human freedom since the world began? it has been consecrated by the blood of our fathers, by the glories of the past, and by the hopes of the future. The Union has already made us the most prosperous, and, before long, will, if preserved, render us the most powerful nation on the face of the earth. In every foreign region of the globe the title of American citizen is held in the highest respect, and when pronounced in a foreign land it causes the hearts of our countrymen to swell with honest pride. Surely, when we reach the brink of the yawning abyss, we shall recoil with horror from the last fatal plunge. By such a dread catastrophe the hopes of the friends of freedom throughout the world would be destroyed, and a long night of leaden despotism would enshroud the nations. Our example for more than eighty years would not only be lost, but it would be quoted as a conclusive proof that man is unfit for self-government.

It is not every wrong—nay, it is not every grievous wrong—which can justify a resort to such a fearful alternative. This ought to be the last desperate remedy of a despairing people, after every other constitutional means of conciliation had been exhausted. We should reflect that under this free Government there is an incessant ebb and flow in public opinion. The slavery question, like everything

human, will have its day. I firmly believe that it has already reached and passed the culminating point. But if, in the midst of the existing excitement, the Union shall perish, the evil may then become irreparable. Congress can contribute much to avert it by proposing and recommending to the Legislatures of the several States the remedy for existing evils which the Constitution has itself provided for its own preservation. This has been tried at different critical periods of our history, and always with eminent success. It is to be found in the 5th Article providing for its own amendment. Under this Article amendments have been proposed by two-thirds of both Houses of Congress, and have been "ratified by the Legislatures of three-fourths of the several States," and have, consequently, become parts of the Constitution. To this process the country is indebted for the clause prohibiting Congress from passing any law respecting an establishment of religion, or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press, or of the right of petition. To this we are also indebted for the Bill of Rights, which secures the people against any abuse of power by the Federal Government. Such were the apprehensions justly entertained by the friends of State rights at that period as to have rendered it extremely doubtful whether the Constitution could have long survived without these amendments.

Again, the Constitution was amended by the same process after the election of President Jefferson, by the House of Representatives, in February, 1803. This amendment was rendered necessary to prevent a recurrence of the dangers which had seriously threatened the existence of the Government during the pendency of that election. The Article for its own amendment was intended to secure the amicable adjustment of conflicting constitutional questions, like the present, which might arise between the Governments of the States and that of the United States. This appears from contemporaneous history. In this connection I shall merely call attention to a few sentences in Mr. Madison's justly celebrated Report, in 1799, to the Legislature of Virginia. In this he ably and conclusively defended the resolutions of the preceding Legislature against the strictures of several other State Legislatures. These were mainly founded upon the protest of the Virginia Legislature against the "Alien and Sedition Acts," as "palpable and alarming infractions of the Constitution." In pointing out the peaceful and constitutional remedies—and he referred to none other—to which the States were authorized to resort on such occasions, he concludes by saying "that the Legislatures of the States might have made a direct representation to Congress with a view to obtain a rescinding of the two offensive Acts, or they might have represented to their respective Senators in Congress their wish that two-thirds thereof would propose an explanatory amendment to the Constitution; or two-thirds of themselves, if such had been their option, might, by an application to Congress, have obtained a Convention for the same object."

This is the very course which I earnestly recommend in order to obtain an "explanatory amendment" of the Constitution on the subject of slavery. This might originate with Congress or the State Legislatures, as may be deemed most advisable to attain the object.

This explanatory amendment might be confined to the final settlement of the true construction of the Constitution on three special points:—

1. An express recognition of the right of property in slaves in the States where it now exists or may hereafter exist.

2. The duty of protecting this right in all the common territories throughout their territorial existence, and until they shall be admitted as States into the Union, with or without slavery, as their Constitutions may prescribe.

3. A like recognition of the right of the master to have his slave, who has escaped from one State to another, restored and "delivered up" to him, and of the validity of the Fugitive Slave Law enacted for this purpose, together with a declaration that all State laws impairing or defeating this right are violations of the Constitution, and are consequently null and void.

It may be objected that this construction of the Constitution has already been settled by the Supreme Court of the United States, and what more ought to be required? The answer is, that a very large proportion of the people of the United States still contest the correctness of this decision, and never will cease from agitation and admit its binding force until clearly established by the people of the several States in their sovereign character. Such an explanatory amendment would, it is believed, for ever terminate the existing dissensions and restore peace and harmony among the States.

It ought not to be doubted that such an appeal to the arbitrament established by the Constitution itself would be received with favour by all the States of the Confederacy. In any event it ought to be tried in a spirit of conciliation before any of these States shall separate themselves from the Union.

(H.)

PRESIDENT LINCOLN'S INAUGURAL ADDRESS, DELIVERED MARCH 4TH, 1861.

FELLOW-CITIZENS OF THE UNITED STATES:—

In compliance with a custom as old as the Government itself, I appear before you to address you briefly, and to take in your presence the oath prescribed by the Constitution of the United States to be taken by the President before he enters on the execution of his office.

I do not consider it necessary at present for me to discuss those matters of administration about which there is no special anxiety or excitement.

Apprehension seems to exist among the people of the Southern States that, by the accession of a Republican Administration, their property and their peace, and personal security are to be endangered. There has never been any reasonable cause for such apprehension. Indeed, the most ample evidence to the contrary has all the while existed and been open to their inspection. It is found in nearly all

the public speeches of him who now addresses you. I do but quote from one of those speeches when I declare that "I have no purpose, directly or indirectly, to interfere with the institution of slavery in the States where it exists; I believe I have no lawful right to do so, and I have no inclination to do so." Those who nominated and elected me did so with a full knowledge that I had made this and many similar declarations, and had never recanted them. And more than this, they placed in the platform for my acceptance, and as a law to themselves and to me, the clear and emphatic Resolution which I now read:—

"*Resolved*, That the maintenance inviolate of the rights of the States, and especially the right of each State to order and control its own domestic institutions according to its own judgment exclusively, is essential to that balance of power on which the perfection and endurance of our political fabric depend, and we denounce the lawless invasion by armed force of the soil of any State or territory, no matter under what pretext, as the gravest of crimes."

I now reiterate these sentiments, and in doing so I only press upon the public attention the most conclusive evidence of which the case is susceptible, that the property, peace, and security of no section are to be in anywise endangered by the now incoming Administration. I add, too, that all the protection which, consistently with the Constitution and the laws, can be given, will be cheerfully given to all the States, when lawfully demanded, for whatever cause, as cheerfully to one section as to another.

There is much controversy about the delivering up of fugitives from service or labour. The clause I now read is as plainly written in the Constitution as any other of its provisions:—

"No person held to service or labour in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labour, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labour may be due."

It is scarcely questioned that this provision was intended by those who made it for the reclaiming of what we call fugitive slaves; and the intention of the law-giver is the law. All members of Congress swear their support to the whole Constitution, to this provision as much as any other. To the proposition, then, that slaves, whose cases come within the terms of this clause, "shall be delivered up," their oaths are unanimous. Now, if they would make the effort in good temper, could they not, with nearly equal unanimity, frame and pass a law by means of which to keep good that unanimous oath? There is some difference of opinion whether this clause should be enforced by national or by State authority; but surely that difference is not a very material one. If the slave is to be surrendered, it can be of but little consequence to him or to others by which authority it is done. And should any one, in any case, be content that this oath shall go unkept on a merely unsubstantial controversy as to how it shall be kept? Again, in any law upon this subject, ought not all the safeguards of liberty known in civilized and humane jurisprudence to be introduced, so that a free man be not,

in any case, surrendered as a slave? And might it not be well at the same time to provide by law for the enforcement of that clause in the Constitution which guarantees that "the citizens of each State shall be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States?" I take the official oath to-day with no mental reservations, and with no purpose to construe the Constitution or laws by any hypercritical rules; and while I do not choose now to specify particular Acts of Congress as proper to be enforced, I do suggest that it will be much safer for all, both in official and private stations, to conform to and abide by all those Acts which stand unrepealed, than to violate any of them, trusting to find impunity in having them held to be unconstitutional.

It is seventy-two years since the first inauguration of a President under our National Constitution. During that period fifteen different and greatly distinguished citizens have in succession administered the executive branch of Government. They have conducted it through many perils, and generally with great success. Yet, with all this scope for precedent, I now enter upon the same task, for the brief constitutional term of four years, under great and peculiar difficulty. A description of the Federal Union, heretofore only menaced, is now formidably attempted. I hold that, in contemplation of universal law and of the Constitution, the Union of these States is perpetual. Perpetuity is implied if not expressed in the fundamental law of all national governments. It is safe to assert that Government proper never had a provision in its organic law for its own termination. Continue to execute all the express provisions of our National Constitution, and the Union will endure for ever, it being impossible to destroy it except by some action not provided for in the instrument itself. Again, if the United States be not a Government proper, but an asssociation of States in the nature of a contract merely, can it as a contract be peaceably unmade by less than all the parties who made it? One party to a contract may violate it—break it, so to speak—but does it not require all to lawfully rescind it?

Descending from these general principles, we find the proposition that, in legal contemplation, the Union is perpetual, confirmed by the history of the Union itself.

The Union is much older than the Constitution. It was formed, in fact, by the Articles of Association in 1774. It was matured and continued in the Declaration of Independence in 1776. It was further matured, and the faith of all the then thirteen States expressly plighted and engaged that it should be perpetual, by the Articles of Confederation in 1778; and finally, in 1787, one of the declared objects for ordaining and establishing the Constitution was to form a more perfect Union. But if the destruction of the Union by one or by a part only of the States be lawfully possible, the Union is less than before, the Constitution having lost the vital element of perpetuity.

It follows from these views that no State, upon its own mere motion, can lawfully get out of the Union; that resolves and ordinances to that effect are legally void, and that acts of violence within any State or States against the authority of

the United States, are insurrectionary or revolutionary, according to circumstances. I therefore consider that, in view of the Constitution and the laws, the Union is unbroken, and to the extent of my ability I shall take care, as the Constitution itself expressly enjoins upon me, that the laws of the Union be faithfully executed in all the States. Doing this I deem to be only a simple duty on my part. I shall perfectly perform it, so far as is practicable, unless my rightful masters, the American people, shall withhold the requisition, or in some authoritative manner direct the contrary. I trust this will not be regarded as a menace, but only as the declared purpose of the Union that it will constitutionally defend and maintain itself.

In doing this, there need be no bloodshed or violence, and there shall be none, unless it is forced upon the national authority. The power confided to me will be used to hold, occupy, and possess the property and places belonging to the Government, and collect the duties and imposts; but beyond what may be necessary for these objects, there will be no invasion—no using of force against or amongst the people anywhere.

Where hostility to the United States shall be so great and so universal as to prevent competent resident citizens from holding the Federal offices, there will be no attempt to force obnoxious strangers among the people that object. While the strict legal right may exist of the Government to enforce the exercise of these offices, the attempt to do so would be so irritating and so nearly impracticable withal that I deem it better to forego for the time the uses of such offices.

The mails, unless repelled, will continue to be furnished in all parts of the Union.

So far as possible, the people everywhere shall have that sense of perfect security which is most favourable to calm thought and reflection. The course here indicated will be followed unless current events and experience shall show a modification or change to be proper, and in every case and exigency my best discretion will be exercised accordingly to the circumstances actually existing, and with a view and a hope of a peaceful solution of the national troubles and the restoration of fraternal sympathies and affections. That there are persons in one section or another who seek to destroy the Union at all events, and are glad of any pretext to do it, I will neither affirm nor deny. But if there be such, I need address no word to them.

To those, however, who really love the Union, may I not speak? Before entering upon so grave a matter as the destruction of our national fabric, with all its benefits, its memories, and its hopes, would it not be well to ascertain why we do it? Will you hazard so desperate a step while there is any portion of the ills you fly from that have no real existence? Will you, while the certain ills you fly to are greater than all the real ones you fly from? Will you risk the commission of so fearful a mistake? All profess to be content in the Union if all constitutional rights can be maintained. Is it true, then, that any right, plainly written in the Constitution, has been denied? I think not. Happily the human mind is so

constituted that no party can reach to the audacity of doing this. Think, if you can, of a single instance in which a plainly written provision of the Constitution has ever been denied. If, by the mere force of numbers, a majority should deprive a minority of any clearly-written constitutional right, it might, in a moral point of view, justify revolution; certainly would, if such right were a vital one. But such is not the case.

All the vital rights of minorities and of individuals are so plainly assured to them by affirmations and negations, guarantees and prohibitions, in the Constitution, that controversies never arise concerning them. But no organic law can ever be framed with a provision specially applicable to every question which may occur in practical administration. No foresight can anticipate, nor any document of reasonable length contain, express provisions for all possible questions. Shall fugitives from labour be surrendered by National or by State authority? The Constitution does not expressly say. Must Congress protect slavery in the territories? The Constitution does not expressly say. From questions of this class spring all our Constitutional controversies, and we divide upon them into majorities and minorities.

If the minority will not acquiesce, the majority must, or the Government must cease. There is no alternative for continuing the Government but acquiescence on the one side or the other. If a minority in such a case will secede rather than acquiesce, they make a precedent which in turn will ruin and divide them, for a minority of their own will secede from them whenever a majority refuses to be controlled by such a minority. For instance, why not any portion of a new Confederacy, a year or two hence, arbitrarily secede again, precisely as some portions of the present Union now claim to secede from it? All who cherish disunion sentiments are now being educated to the exact temper of doing this. Is there such perfect identity of interests among the States to comprise a new Union as to produce harmony only and prevent renewed secession? Plainly, the central idea of secession is the essence of anarchy.

A majority held in restraint by constitutional checks and limitations, and always changing easily, with deliberate changes of popular opinions and sentiments, is the only true sovereign of a free people. Whoever rejects it does, of necessity, fly to anarchy or to despotism. Unanimity is impossible. The rule of a minority, as a permanent arrangement, is wholly inadmissible. So that, rejecting the majority principle, anarchy or despotism in some form is all that is left.

I do not forget the position assumed by some, that constitutional questions are to be decided by the Supreme Court, nor do I deny that such decisions must be binding, in any case, upon the parties to a suit, as to the object of that suit, while they are also entitled to very high respect and consideration in all parallel cases by all other departments of the Government; and while it is obviously possible that such decision may be erroneous in any given case, still the evil effect following it being limited to that particular case, with the chance that it may be overruled and never become a precedent for other cases, can better be borne than could the evils

of a different practice. At the same time, the candid citizen must confess that if the policy of the Government upon the vital questions affecting the whole people is to be irrevocably fixed by the decisions of the Supreme Court, the instant they are made in ordinary litigation between parties in personal actions, the people will have ceased to be their own masters, having to that extent practically resigned their Government into the hands of that eminent tribunal. Nor is there in this view any assault upon the court or the judges.

It is a duty from which they may not shrink to decide cases properly brought before them, and it is no fault of theirs if others seek to turn their decisions to political purposes. One section of our country believes slavery is right, and ought to be extended, while the other believes it is wrong, and ought not to be extended. This is the only substantial dispute; and the fugitive slave clause of the Constitution, and the law for the suppression of the foreign slave trade, are each as well enforced, perhaps, as any law can ever be in a community where the moral sense of the people imperfectly supports the law itself. The great body of the people abide by the dry, legal obligations in both cases, and a few break over in each. This, I think, cannot be perfectly cured, and it would be worse in both cases after the separation of the sections than before. The foreign slave trade, now imperfectly suppressed, would be ultimately revived, without restriction in one section, while fugitive slaves, now only partially surrendered, would not be surrendered at all by the other. Physically speaking, we cannot separate—we cannot remove our respective sections from each other, nor build an impassable wall between them. A husband and wife may be divorced and go out of the presence and beyond the reach of each other; but the different parts of our country cannot do this. They cannot but remain face to face, and intercourse, either amicable or hostile, must continue between them. Is it possible, then, to make that intercourse more advantageous or more satisfactory after separation than before? Can aliens make treaties easier than friends can make laws? Can treaties be more faithfully enforced between aliens than laws can among friends? Suppose you go to war; you cannot fight always, and when, after much loss on both sides and no gain on either, you cease fighting, the identical questions as to terms of intercourse are again upon you. This country, with its institutions, belongs to the people who inhabit it. Whenever they shall grow weary of the existing Government, they can exercise their constitutional right of amending, or their revolutionary right to dismember or overthrow it. I cannot be ignorant of the fact that many worthy and patriotic citizens are desirous of having the National Constitution amended. While I make no recommendation of amendment, I freely recognize the full authority of the people over the whole subject, to be exercised in either of the modes prescribed in the instrument itself; and I should, under existing circumstances, favour rather than oppose a fair opportunity being afforded the people to act upon it. I will venture to add that to me the Convention mode seems preferable, in that it allows amendments to originate with the people themselves, instead of only permitting them to take or reject propositions originated by others not specially chosen for the purpose, and which

might not be precisely such as they would wish themselves to accept or refuse. I understand a proposed amendment to the Constitution—which amendment, however, I have not seen—has passed Congress, to the effect that the Federal Government shall never interfere with the domestic institutions of States, including that of persons held to service. To avoid misconstruction of most I have said, I depart from my purpose not to speak of particular amendments, so far as to say that, holding such a provision as now implied to be constitutional law, I have no objection to its being made express and irrevocable. The chief magistrate derives all his authority from the people, and they have conferred now upon him to fix the terms for the separation of the States. The people themselves also can do this if they choose, but the Executive, as such, has nothing to do with it. His duty is to administer the present Government as it came to his hands, and to transmit it unimpaired by him to his successor. Why should there not be a patient confidence in the ultimate justice of the people? Is there any better or equal hope in the world? In our present differences, is either party without faith of being in the right? If the Almighty Ruler of nations, with his eternal truth and justice, be on your side of the North, or on yours of the South, that truth and that justice will surely prevail by the judgment of this great tribunal—the American people. By the frame of the Government under which we live, this same people have wisely given their public servants but little power for mischief, and have, with equal wisdom, provided for the return of that little to their own hands at very short intervals. While the people retain their virtue and vigilance, no Administration, by any extreme wickedness or folly, can very seriously injure the Government in the short space of four years.

My countrymen, one and all, think calmly and well upon this whole subject. Nothing valuable can be lost by taking time.

If there be an object to hurry any of you, in hot haste, to a step which you could never take deliberately, that object will be frustated by taking time; but no good object can be frustrated by it. Such of you as are now dissatisfied still have the old Constitution unimpaired, and, on the sensitive point, the laws of your own framing under it, while the new Administration will have no immediate power, if it would, to change either. If it were admitted that you who are dissatisfied hold the right side in the dispute, there still is no single reason for precipitate action. Intelligence, patriotism, Christianity, and a firm reliance on Him who has never yet forsaken this favoured land, are still competent to adjust in the best way all our present difficulty.

In your hands, my dissatisfied fellow-countrymen, and not in mine, is the momentous issue of civil war. The Government will not assail you. You can have no conflict without being yourselves the aggressors. You have no oath registered in heaven to destroy the Government, while I shall have the solemn one to "preserve, protect, and defend" it. I am loth to close. We are not enemies, but friends. We must not be enemies. Though passion may have strained, it must not break our bonds of affection. The mystic chords of memory, stretching from every battle-

field and patriotic grave to every living heart and hearthstone all over this broad land, will yet swell the chorus of the Union, when again touched, as surely they will be, by the better angels of our nature.

(I.)

THE TARIFFS OF THE UNITED STATES FOR 1857 AND 1861, AND THE TARIFF OF THE SOUTHERN CONFEDERACY, COMPARED.

The following comparative view is from the *New York Tribune* of the 26th of March, 1861. Only the principal articles are given, but the general reader will find all the information he requires. All the figures under 1857 are per cent. *ad valorem*:—

Articles.	United States. 1857.	United States, 1861.	Southern.
Acids	4	10 per cent.	10 per cent.
Ale and beer, in bottles	24	25c. per gall.	15 „
Ale and beer, in casks	24	15c. „	15 „
Anchovies, in oil	30	30 per cent.	25 „
Anchors, anvils	24	$1·50 per 100 lb.	15 „
Arms, fire and side	24	30 per cent.	15 „
Axes, axletrees	24	2c. per lb.	15 „
Bacon and hams	15	2c. per lb.	Free.
Bagging, cotton	15	1½c. per lb.	15 per cent.
Bags, grass, wool, leather	24	30 per cent.	15 „
Bags, carpet, gunny, hemp	19	20 „	15 „
Balsams, medicines	24	30 „	20 „
Barley	15	15c. per bushel.	Free.
Baskets, all sorts	24	30 per cent.	15 per cent.
Bed ticking, cotton	24	2c. per lb.	15 „
Beef	15	1c. per lb.	Free.
Bees'-wax	15	10 per cent.	15 per cent.
Blankets	15	[See note.]	15 „
Bleaching powders	4	15c. per 100 lb.	10 „
Boards and planks	15	20 per cent.	10 „
Bonnets, all sorts	24	30 „	15 „
Boots, mohair and silk	24	Free.	15 „
Blank books	15	20 per cent.	10 „
Books, all other	8	15 „	10 „
Brandy	30	$1 per gallon.	25 „
Boxes, wood and paper	24	30 per cent.	15 „
Brass, manufactures of	24	30 „	15 „
Brass, plates and wire	24	30 „	15 „
Brass in bars and pigs	Free	10 „	5 „

Articles.	United States, 1857.	United States, 1861.	Southern.
Britannia ware	24	30 per cent.	15 per cent.
Bronze, manufactured	24	30 „	15 „
Bronze, metal and leaf	15	30 „	15 „
Buttons	19	30 „	15 „
Butter	15	4c. per lb.	10 „
Cables and cordage	19	2½c. „	15 „
Candles, wax, sperm	15	8c. „	15 „
Caps of all sorts	24	30 per cent.	15 „
Carpets, of wool	24	[See note.]	15 „
Carriages and parts	24	30 per cent.	15 „
Cayenne pepper	4	3 to 4c. per lb.	20 „
Chains, iron	24	1½ to 2½c. per lb.	15 „
Cheese	24	4c. per lb.	10 „
Chinaware and porcelain	24	30 per cent.	15 „
Chocolate	15	20 „	15 „
Cigars	30	[See note.]	25 „
Cinnamon	4	10c. per lb.	20 „
Clocks	24	30 per cent.	15 „
Clothing, ready made	24	25 to 30 per cent.	15 „
Cloves	4	4c. per lb.	20 „
Coal, bituminous	24	$1 per ton.	10 „
Coral	15	Free.	20 „
Coral manufactures	24	30 per cent.	20 „
Cochineal	4	Free.	10 „
Coal and coke	24	50c. per ton.	10 „
Cocoa and cocoa-nuts	4	Free.	10 „
Codfish, dry	15	50c. per 100 lb.	15 „
Coffee, in American bottoms	Free	Free.	Free.
Confectionary	24	30 per cent.	25 per cent.
Copper, sheets, bolts	15	25 „	15 „
Copper, vessels, wire	24	25 „	15 „
Copper, pigs and bars	Free.	2c. per lb.	5 „
Cordials, all kinds	30	50c. per gallon.	25 „
Corn, Indian	15	10c. per bush.	Free.
Cotton, manufactured, unbleached	19	[See note.]	15 per cent.
Cotton, light manufactured yarn	24	[See note.]	15 „
Cotton, unmanufactured	Free.	Free.	Free.
Currants and prunes	8	2c. per lb.	20 per cent.
Cutlery	24	30 per cent.	15 „
Dates	8	½c. per lb.	20 „
Diamonds and gems, unset	4	5 per cent.	5 „
Diamonds—glaziers'	12	12 „	10 „
Diamonds and gems set	24	25 „	10 „
Drugs, medicinal	15	20 „	15 „
Drugs, crude, for dyeing	Free.	Free.	15 „
Dyewoods	Free.	Free.	10 „

Articles.	United States, 1857.	United States, 1861.	Southern.
Earthenware	24	25 per cent.	15 per cent.
Ebony	8	Free.	10 „
Emery	8	Free.	10 „
Engravings	8	10 per cent.	10 „
Envelopes, paper	24	30 „	15 „
Essences	24	30 „	10 „
Feathers, for beds	19	20 „	15 „
Feathers, ornamental	24	30 „	20 „
Figs	8	3c. per lb.	20 „
Fish, pickled	15	$1, $2 to $3 per bbl.	15 „
Fire-crackers	24	30 per cent.	15 „
Fire-brick	15	20 „	10 „
Flannels, all kinds	19	25 to 30 per cent.	15 „
Flax, unmanufactured	Free	$15 per ton.	10 „
Flax, manufactured	15	25 to 30 per cent.	15 „
Floor-cloths	24	30 per cent.	15 „
Flowers, artificial	24	30 „	20 „
Fruits, in brandy or sugar	30	30 „	20 „
Fruits, ripe or dried	8	10 „	20 „
Furniture, household	24	30 „	15 „
Furs on the skin, undressed	8	10 „	10 „
Furs, dressed on the skin	15	10 „	15 „
Fur hats and bodies	24	30 „	10 „
Garden seeds	Free.	Free.	Free.
German silver	24	30 per cent.	15 per cent.
Goats' hair, best	24	10 „	10 „
Grindstones	Free.	4 „	10 „
Gimps and fringe, cotton	24	30 „	15 „
Gimps of silk	19	30 „	20 „
Gimps of thread and linen	15	30 „	15 „
Gin	30	40c. per gallon.	25 „
Ginger, green and preserved	15	10 per cent.	15 „
Glassware	24	25 „	15 „
Glass, cut, ornamental	30	30 „	25 „
Glass, plate, window	15	1 to 5c. per sq. ft.	15 „
Gloves, all sorts	24	30 per cent.	15 „
Guano	Free.	Free.	5 „
Gunpowder	15	20 per cent.	Free.
Gold and silver leaf	12	20 „	10 per cent.
Gold ornaments	24	30 „	20 „
Grass cloth, mats, rope	19	25 „	15 „
Goats' hair, manufactured	19	25 „	15 „
Gutta percha, crude	4	Free.	10 „
Gutta percha, manufactured	15	20 per cent.	15 „
Hair, under 20c. per lb.	Free.	Free.	10 „

Articles.	United States, 1857.	United States, 1861.	Southern.
Hair, alpaca, goat, over 20c.	24	Free.	10 per cent.
Hair cloth	19	25 per cent.	15 „
Hair, curled, for beds	15	20 „	15 „
Harness and saddlery	24	30 „	15 „
Hats, all sorts	24	20 to 30 per cent.	15 „
Hat bodies	15	30 per cent.	15 „
Hemp, unmanufactured	24	$35 per ton.	10 „
Hemp, Manilla	19	$15 „	10 „
Hides, raw or salted	4	5 per cent.	10 „
Horn manufactures	24	30 „	15 „
Hops	15	10 „	15 „
Honey	24	10c. per gallon.	15 „
Hose of all sorts	24	30 per cent.	15 „
Ice	Free.	Free.	$ 2 per ton.
India-rubber	4	Free.	10 per cent.
India-rubber goods	24	20 per cent.	15 „
Iron	24	[See note.]	5 „
Iron, manufactured	24	„	15 „
Ivory	Free.	Free.	10 „
Ivory, manufactures of	24	30 per cent.	10 „
Japanned ware	24	30 „	15 „
Jewelry, all kinds	24	25 „	15 „
Jute	19	$10 per ton.	10 „
Jute carpeting	24	20 per cent.	15 „
Lace, worsted and silk	19	30 „	20 „
Laces, insertings	24	20 „	15 „
Lard	15	2c. per lb.	Free.
Lead, unmanufactured	15	1c. „	„
Lead, manufactures of	15	30 per cent.	15 per cent.
Leather, sole	15	20 „	15 „
Leather, upper and patent	19	25 to 30 per cent.	15 „
Leather, manufactured	24	30 per cent.	15 „
Lemons, limes, oranges	8	10 „	10 „
Linens	15	25 to 30 per cent.	15 „
Linseed	Free.	10c. per bush.	10 „
Linseed oil	15	20c. per gallon.	15 „
Logwood	Free.	Free.	10 „
Looking-glasses and plates	24	1 to 5c. per sq. ft.	15 „
Matting, cocoa	15	20 per cent.	15 „
Manures	Free.	Free.	5 „
Maps and manuscripts	„	„	10 „
Mahogany	8	„	10 „
Marble, unmanufactured	15	30 per cent.	10 „
Marble, manufactures of	24	30 „	15 „
Millinery	24	30 „	15 „
Molasses	24	2c. per gallon.	20 „

Articles.	United States, 1857.	United States, 1861.	Southern.
Musical Instruments	15	20 per cent.	15 per cent.
Music	4	10 „	10 „
Nails, except copper	24	1c. per lb.	15 „
Nankeens	24	30 per cent.	15 „
Needles	15	20 „	15 „
Newspapers	8	20 „	10 „
Oakum and punk	Free.	Free.	10 „
Oats	15	10c. per bush.	Free.
Oatmeal	15	10 per cent.	„
Oilcloths	24	20 to 30 per cent.	15 per cent.
Oil—olive, bottles	24	30 per cent.	15 „
Oil—palm and seal	4	10 „	15 „
Oil—sperm and whale	15	20 „	15 „
Opium	15	$1 per lb.	15 „
Osier or willow	15	20 per cent.	15 „
Osier manufactures	24	30 „	15 „
Paints—dry and in oil	15	20 „	15 „
Paper sheathing	15	10 „	15 „
Palm leaf	Free.	Free.	10 „
Palm leaf, manufactured	24	30 per cent.	15 „
Paper	24	30 „	15 „
Paper-hangings	15	30 „	15 „
Papier maché	24	30 „	20 „
Paving and roofing tiles	15	20 „	15 „
Peas	15	30 „	Free.
Pencils—lead and chalk	24	30 „	15 per cent.
Pens—metal	15	30 „	15 „
Pianofortes	15	20 „	15 „
Pickles	24	30 „	20 „
Pineapples, plums, prunes	8	Free.	10 „
Pineapples	8	„	10 „
Plants, living	Free.	„	10 „
Platina	„	„	10 „
Platina, manufactures of	24	30 per cent.	20 „
Playing cards	24	30 „	20 „
Plums	8	1c. per lb.	20 „
Pimento pepper	4	2c. per lb.	20 „
Pins	24	30 per cent.	15 „
Pitch and tar	15	20 „	15 „
Plated wares	24	30 „	20 „
Potash	15	10 „	10 „
Potatoes	24	10c. per bush.	10 „
Preserves	30	30 per cent.	20 „
Prunes	8	2c. per lb.	20 „
Pumpkins	15	10 per cent.	Free.
Railroad iron	24	$12 per ton.	10 per cent.

Articles.	United States, 1857.	United States, 1861.	Southern.
Rags	4	Free.	Free.
Ratans, reeds	Free.	„	10 per cent.
Raisins	8	1 to 2 c. per lb.	20 „
Ribbons, except cotton	19	20 per cent.	15 „
Rice and paddy	15	½ to 1 c. per l.	[Note.]
Rosin	8	20 per cent.	15 per cent.
Rum	30	40c. per gallon.	25 „
Russia duck and crash	15	25 per cent.	15 „
Rye	15	15c. per bush.	Free.
Rye flour	15	10 per cent.	„
Salt	15	4 to 6c. per bush.	3c. per bush.
Saltpetre	8	10 per cent.	Free.
Sauces	24	30 „	20 per cent.
Shells	4	Free.	10 „
Shells, manufactured	24	30 per cent.	15 „
Silk, raw	Free.	Free.	10 „
Silk, partly manufactured	12	15 per cent.	10 „
Silk, woven	19	20 to 30 per cent.	20 „
Silk, sewing and shawls	24	30 per cent.	15 „
Silk, small wares of	24	30 „	20 „
Silver ware, or plated	24	30 „	20 „
Soaps of all kinds	24	30 „	20 „
Soap stock and grease	8	10 „	10 „
Spices, all kinds	4	20 „	20 „
Spirits, distilled	30	40 to 50c. per gall.	25 „
Steel, cast shear, German	12	20 to 30 per cent.	10 „
Spelter, pigs, bars, sheets	4 to 8	1 to 1½c. per lb.	5 „
Starch	15	20 per cent.	15 „
Sponges	8	10 „	10 „
Stone, building	8 to 15	10 „	5 „
Steel in bars	15	1½ to 2c. per lb.	10 „
Steel wire, chains	24	2 to 2½c. „	15 „
Stereotype plates, type	15	20 per cent.	15 „
Stoneware	24	Free to 20 per c.	15 „
Sugar, raw	24	⅜c. per lb.	20 „
Sugar, manufactured	24	2 to 4c. per b.	20 „
Tallow	8	1c. per lb.	10 „
Teas of all kinds	Free.	Free.	4c. per lb.
Timber, hewn or sawed	15	20 per cent.	10 per cent.
Tin, in bars and pigs	Free.	Free.	5 „
Tin plates and sheets	8	10 per cent.	10 „
Tin, other manufactured	24	30 „	15 „
Tobacco, manufactured	30	30 „	25 „
Tobacco, in the leaf	24	25 „	10 „
Toys, all kinds	24	30 „	15 „
Turpentine, spirits	15	20 „	15 „

Articles.	United States, 1857.	United States, 1861.	Southern.
Umbrellas, parasols	24	30 per cent.	15 per cent.
Varnishes	15	20 „	15 „
Vegetables, prepared	30	30 „	20 „
Velvet, silk, and binding	19	30 „	20 „
Velvet, cotton	24	25 „	15 „
Vitriol, oil of	4	Free.	15 „
Waters, mineral	24	30 per cent.	15 „
Walking-sticks	24	30 „	20 „
Watches	8	15 „	10 „
Watch materials	4	15 „	10 „
Whalebone, foreign fishing	15	20 „	15 „
Wheat	15	20c. per bush.	Free.
Wheat flour	15	10 per cent.	„
Whisky	30	33½ „	25 per cent.
Wines of all kinds	30	40 „	25 „
Wire, iron, steel, copper, brass	24	[Note, *Iron.*]	15 „
Wood, rose, satin	8	Free.	10 „
Wood, cabinet, manufacture of	24	30 per cent.	25 „
Wool, under 20 cents per lb.	Free.	[See note.]	10 „
Wool, over 20 cents per lb.	20	„	10 „
Wool, carded	24	„	10 „
Woollen bags, cloth	24	„	15 „
Woollen yarn	19	„	15 „
Worsted stuffs and yarns	19	„	15 „
Worsted, manufactures of	24	„	15 „
Zinc, in pigs	4	1 c. per lb.	5 „
Zinc, in sheets	12	1½ c. per lb.	5 „
Zinc, manufactures of	24	30 per cent.	15 „
Zinc, oxyde of	15	1½c. per lb.	5 „

NOTE.—*Blankets*, worth not over 28 cents per lb., 6 cents per lb., and 10 per cent. *ad valorem*. Over 23 cents and not over 40 cents per lb., 6 cents per lb. and 25 per cent.; over 40 cents per lb., 12 cents per lb. and 20 per cent.

Carpets, Wilton, &c., worth over $1¼ per square yard, 50 cents per square yard; and 25 per cent. *ad valorem*, whenever that rate exceeds 50 cents per square yard; if valued under $1¼ per square yard, 40 cents per square yard; Brussels and tapestry, 30 cents per square yard; treble ingrain and worsted chain Venetian, 25 cents per square yard; drugget, bocking and felt, 20 cents per square yard; of hemp or jute, 4 cents per square yard; all kinds not above specified, 30 per cent.

Cigars in the new Northern tariff, valued at $5 or under per thousand, 20 cents per lb. and 20 per cent.; over $5 and under $10 per thousand, 40 cents

per lb. and 10 per cent.; over $10 per thousand, 60 cents per lb. and 10 per cent.

Clothing, if of wool, an addition of 12 cents per lb.

Cotton in the United States tariff of 1861: Bagging 1½ to 2 cents per lb.; woven shirts, drawers, 25 per cent.; gimps, laces, cords, embroideries and thread, 30 per cent.; laces, braids, 20 per cent.; unbleached cloths, 1, 2 and 4 cents per square yard, according to fineness; bleached, ½ cent per yard additional duty; printed or coloured, 10 per cent. additional; unbleached, not in above, 25 per cent.; bleached, not in above, 30 per cent.; hatters' plush, 20 per cent.

Iron, in the same tariff, is as follows: Anchors, $1·50 per 100 lbs.; anvils, $1·25 do.; band and hoop $20 per ton; bar, generally, $15 per ton; black sheet, $20 to $30; blooms, $15; boiler plate, $20; bolts, brads, tacks, butts, hinges, malleable castings, chains, do. coated with zinc or galvanized, gas tubes, hammers, wrought nails, tin plates galvanized, smooth sheet, rivets, spikes, steam tubes, 2 cents per lb.; cast pipes, ½ cent per lb.; hollow ware, 2½ cents per lb.; trace and some other chains, 1½ cent per lb.; cables, 1½ cent per lb.; chains under No. 9 gauge, 25 per cent.; pig iron, $6 per ton; pig, advanced, $15; railroad bars, $12; railroad chairs, $25; rolled iron, $20; washers and nuts, $25; wire, 15 per cent., and 75 cents to $2 per 100 lbs., according to size; screws, 8 cents per lb.; horse-shoe nails, 3½ cents per lb.

Wool and Woollen Manufactures, in the same tariff, are: Wool, 18 cents or less per lb., 5 per cent.; from 18 to 24 cents, 3 cents per lb.; over 24 cents, 9 cents per lb.; wool on skins, 15 per cent.; clothing, ready made, blankets for printers, delaines and bareges, uncoloured, yarn under 50 cents per lb., 25 per cent.; embroidered, coloured or printed, yarn exceeding No. 14, worsted, woven shirts, socks, gloves, 30 per cent. Manufactures not named, 25 per cent.; shawls, 25 per cent.; yarn under $1 per lb., 15 per cent.; over $1 per lb. 25 per cent. Beside these levies there is an *addition* of 12 cents per lb. on clothing, shawls, yarn, and unenumerated articles.

Rice and Paddy do not appear in our copy of the Southern tariff.

(J.)

A COMPARATIVE VIEW OF THE AREA, POPULATION, GOVERNMENT, FINANCES, WEALTH, PUBLIC WORKS, AGRICULTURE, MANUFACTURES, COMMERCE, AND BANKING FACILITIES OF THE FREE AND SLAVE STATES.

A COMPARATIVE VIEW of the AREA and POPULATION

	Date of Settlement or Admission into the Union.	AREA.				POPULA	
		TOTAL.		OCCUPIED, 1850.			
		Square Miles.	Acres.	Acres Improved.	Acres Unimproved.	Free.	S
	1	2	3	4	5	6	
GE STATES.							
settled by the Dutch	1614	46,000	29,440,000	12,408,964	6,710,120	3,887,542	
S, settled by the Puritans	1620	7,800	4,992,000	2,133,436	1,222,576	1,231,065	
E, settled by the Puritans	1623	9,280	5,939,200	2,251,488	1,140,926	326,072	
ttled by the Dutch	1624	8,320	5,324,800	1,767,991	984,955	672,031	
ettled by the Puritans	1635	4,674	2,991,360	1,768,178	615,701	460,151	
settled by Roger Williams	1636	1,306	835,840	356,487	197,451	174,621	
, settled by William Penn	1682	47,000	30,080,000	8,628,619	6,294,728	2,906,370	
ted into the Union	1791	10,212	6,535,680	2,601,409	1,524,413	315,116	
Ditto	1802	39,964	26,576,960	9,851,493	8,146,000	2,339,599	
Ditto	1816	33,809	21,637,760	5,046,543	7,746,879	1,350,479	
Ditto	1818	55,405	35,359,200	5,039,545	6,997,867	1,711,753	
Ditto	1820	31,766	20,330,240	2,039,596	2,515,797	628,276	
Ditto	1836	56,243	35,995,520	1,929,110	2,454,780	749,112	
Ditto	1846	50,914	32,584,960	824,682	1,911,382	674,948	
Ditto	1848	53,924	34,511,360	1,045,499	1,931,159	775,873	
Ditto	1850	155,980	99,827,200	32,454	3,861,531	380,015	
Ditto	1858	81,259	52,005,760	. .	. .	162,022	
Ditto	1859	185,030	118,419,200	. .	. .	52,464	
Ditto	1861	114,798	73,470,720	. .	. .	107,110	
Total	. .	993,684	636,857,760	57,725,494	54,256,265	18,904,619	
VE STATES.							
ttled by the English	1607	61,352	39,165,280	10,360,135	15,792,176	1,105,196	4
ed by the Swedes and Finns	1627	2,120	1,356,800	580,862	375,282	110,420	
ed by the Irish Catholics	1635	11,124	7,119,360	2,797,905	1,836,445	599,846	
A, settled by the English	1650	50,704	32,480,560	5,453,975	15,543,008	661,586	3
A, settled by the Huguenots	1670	29,385	18,805,400	4,072,651	12,145,049	301,271	4
by General Oglethorpe	1733	58,000	37,120,000	6,378,479	16,442,900	595,097	4
tted into the Union	1782	37,680	24,115,200	5,968,270	10,981,478	930,223	2
Ditto	1796	45,600	29,184,000	5,175,173	13,808,849	834,063	2
Ditto	1811	41,255	26,403,200	1,590,075	3,399,018	376,913	3
Ditto	1817	47,156	30,179,840	3,444,358	7,046,061	354,699	4
Ditto	1819	50,722	32,027,490	4,435,614	7,702,067	529,164	4
Ditto	1821	67,380	43,123,200	2,938,425	6,794,245	1,058,352	1
Ditto	1836	52,198	33,406,720	781,530	1,816,684	324,323	1
Ditto	1845	59,268	37,931,520	349,049	1,246,240	78,686	
Ditto	1846	237,504	152,002,560	643,976	10,854,303	420,651	1
Total	. .	851,448	544,391,130	54,970,427	125,783,865	8,280,490	3,9

[1] On page 172 the area of Minnesota is set down at 16

MILITIA FORCE, GOVERNMENT, and FINANCES.

Militia Force, as per Army Register for 1861.	GOVERNMENT AND FINANCE, 1860.			STATE.		
	Seat of Government.	Name of Governor.	Salary of Governor.	Income.	Expenditure.	Debt.
			$	$	$	$
9	10	11	12	13	14	15
418,486	Albany	E. D. Morgan	4,000	4,782,144	5,106,083	32,441,944
161,192	Boston	J. A. Andrew.	3,500	1,043,566	1,303,784	6,363,184
33,538	Concord	J. Goodwin	1,000	206,890	184,445	None.
81,984	Trenton	C. S. Olden.	1,800	207,737	200,993	95,000
51,630	Hartford	W. A. Buckingham	1,100	769,594	723,835	None.
17,826	Newport	W. Sprague	1,000	264,777	269,095	386,311
350,000	Harrisburg	N. G. Curtier	4,000	3,826,350	3,879,654	38,638,961
23,915	Montpelier	E. Fairbanks	1,000	241,089	230,489	None.
279,809	Columbus	W. Dennison, Jun.	1,800	3,520,153	3,522,995	17,223,153
53,913	Indianapolis	H. S. Lane	3,000	1,288,445	1,218,185	10,286,856
400,000	Springfield	R. Yates	1,500	753,011	761,977	11,138,454
73,552	Augusta	J. Washburn, Jun.	1,500	431,700	394,008	1,137,387
109,750	Lansing	A. Blair	1,000	692,482	721,437	2,337,630
. .	Des Moines	S. J. Kerkwod.	2,000	777,033	751,403	322,295
51,321	Madison	A. W. Randall	1,250	979,464	713,853	100,000
297,730	Sacramento	J. G. Downey	6,000	1,184,221	1,109,143	3,092,622
24,990	St. Paul	A. Ramsay.	1,500	557,818	547,488	2,563,653
. .	Salem	J. Whiteaker	1,500	67,565	71,062	. .
. .	Lavenworth	S. Medary	2,500	No returns.	No returns.	No returns.
2,429,636	. .	. .	. .	21,594,039	21,709,929	126,127,450
				£4,498,758	£4,522,901	£26,276,552
143,155	Richmond	J. Letcher	5,000	4,326,549	4,222,536	33,005,159
9,229	Dover	W. Barton	1,333	60,725	41,927	None.
46,864	Annapolis	T. H. Hicks	3,600	1,048,339	1,306,043	14,854,204
79,448	Raleigh	J. W. Ellis	3,000	2,813,016	2,676,923	13,978,505
36,000	Columbia	F. W. Pickens	3,800	958,307	908,698	6,192,743
78,700	Milledgeville	J. E. Brown	4,000	1,165,162	1,179,110	3,170,750
88,979	Frankfort	B. Magoffin	2,500	983,623	883,887	5,574,244
71,252	Nashville	J. G. Harris	3,000	1,848,094	1,707,287	16,043,607
91,324	Baton Rouge	T. O. Moore	4,000	2,538,703	2,396,135	10,023,903
36,084	Jackson	J. J. Petters	4,000	624,020	707,015	7,271,709
76,662	Montgomery	A. B. Moore	4,000	912,722	939,744	5,098,000
118,047	Jefferson City	C. F. Jackson	3,000	1,727,389	1,068,834	19,038,000
47,750	Little Rock	H. M. Rector	2,500	484,911	411,571	3,092,622
12,122	Tallahassee	M. S. Perry	1,500	125,438	90,484	158,000
47,750	Austin	S. Houston.	3,000	424,720	1,005,588	None.
983,366	. .	. . .	. .	20,041,718	19,545,782	138,101,444
				£4,175,357	£4,072,037	£28,771,134

84,766 sq. miles have to be taken off to form the territory of Dakotah, &c.

VALUE of REAL and PERSONAL PROPERTY; CANAL, RAILWAY, and

Value of Real and Personal Property, 1855. $	Canals in Operation in 1858. Miles.	Railways in Operation in 1859. Miles.	AGRICULTURAL STATISTICS: No. of Farms and Plantations.	Average No. of Acres to each Farm.	Cash Value of Farms. $	Cash Value of Implements and Machinery. $	Average Value of Farms. $	Average Value of Implements and Machinery. $
16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
1,364,154,625	1,040	2,756	170,621	113	554,546,642	22,084,926	3,250	129
597,930,995	79	1,428	34,069	99	109,076,347	2,209,584	3,202	94
103,804,326	2	565	29,229	116	55,245,997	2,314,125	1,890	79
179,750,000	149	536	23,905	115	120,237,511	4,425,503	5,030	185
203,759,831	. .	665	22,445	106	72,726,422	1,892,541	3,240	84
91,699,850	6	63	5,385	103	17,079,802	497,201	3,170	92
1,031,731,304	1,349	3,081	127,577	117	407,870,099	14,722,541	3,197	115
91,165,680	1	537	29,763	139	63,367,227	2,739,282	2,129	92
860,877,354	796	3,008	143,807	125	358,758,603	12,750,585	2,495	88
301,858,474	543	1,327	93,896	136	136,385,173	6,704,444	1,453	71
333,237,474	102	2,752	76,208	158	96,133,290	6,405,501	1,261	84
131,128,186	50	544	46,760	97	54,861,748	2,284,557	1,173	49
116,593,580	1	1,132	34,089	129	51,872,446	2,891,371	1,521	85
110,000,000	. .	395	14,805	185	16,657,507	1,172,869	1,125	79
87,500,000	2	826	20,177	148	28,528,563	1,641,568	1,414	81
105,000,000	. .	22	872	4,466	3,874,081	103,483	4,443	118
20,000,000	. .	. .	157	184	161,948	15,981	1,031	102
7,775,000	. .	. .	1,164	372	2,849,170	183,423	2,448	157
2,350,000	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .
5,800,322,679	4,120	19,657	874,929	124[2]	2,150,238,636	85,039,545	2,457	97
£1,208,400,558					£447,966,382	£17,716,571	£511	£20
530,994,897	189	1,525	77,013	340	216,401,543	7,021,772	2,810	91
30,466,924	14	117	6,063	158	18,880,031	510,279	3,114	84
261,243,660	191	833	21,860	212	87,178,545	2,463,443	3,988	113
239,603,372	14	770	56,963	369	67,891,766	3,931,532	1,492	69
303,414,240	53	807	29,697	541	82,431,684	4,136,354	2,751	138
500,000,000	28	1,241	51,759	441	95,753,445	5,894,150	1,850	114
411,000,198	487	458	74,777	227	155,121,262	5,169,039	2,073	69
321,776,810	. .	1,062	72,735	261	97,851,212	5,360,210	1,345	74
270,425,000	25	419	13,422	372	75,814,398	11,576,938	5,648	863
251,525,000	. .	365	33,960	209	54,738,634	5,762,927	1,612	170
279,233,027	52	798	41,946	289	64,323,224	5,125,663	1,533	122
223,948,731	. .	723	54,458	176	63,225,543	3,981,525	1,161	73
64,240,726	. .	38	17,758	146	15,265,245	1,601,296	860	90
49,461,461	. .	289	4,304	371	6,323,109	658,795	1,469	153
240,000,000	. .	284	12,198	942	16,550,008	2,151,704	1,357	176
3,977,354,046	1,053	9,729	568,913	325[3]	1,117,749,649	65,345,627	1,875[4]	96[4]
£828,615,426[1]					£232,864,510	£13,613,672	£390	£20

[1] These figures are inclusive of slaves, worth about $2,464,000,000, or £513,333,330; say 3,520,000 at $700 each.
[2] Exclusive of California, Oregon, Minnesota and Kansas.
[3] Exclusive of Texas.
[4] Exclusive of Louisiana.

AGRICULTURAL STATISTICS.

FOR 1850, (being the latest complete Returns published).

Bushels of Wheat Produced.	Bushels of Oats Produced.	Bushels of Indian Corn Produced.	Pounds of Butter and Cheese Produced.	Pounds of Tobacco Produced.	Tons of Hay Produced.	Pounds of Wool Produced.
25	26	27	28	29	30	31
13,121,498	26,552,814	17,858,400	129,507,507	83,189	3,728,797	10,071,301
38,211	1,165,146	2,345,490	15,139,512	138,246	651,807	585,136
185,658	973,381	1,573,670	10,173,619	50	598,854	1,108,476
1,601,190	3,378,063	8,759,704	9,852,966	310	435,950	375,396
42,762	1,258,738	1,935,043	11,861,396	1,267,624	516,131	497,454
49	215,232	539,201	1,312,178	. .	74,418	129,692
15,367,691	21,538,156	19,835,214	42,383,452	912,651	1,842,970	4,481,570
535,955	2,307,734	2,032,396	20,858,814	. .	866,153	3,400,717
14,487,351	13,472,742	59,078,695	55,268,921	10,454,449	1,443,142	10,196,371
6,214,458	5,655,014	52,964,363	13,506,099	1,044,620	403,230	2,610,287
9,414,575	10,087,241	57,646,984	13,804,768	841,394	601,952	2,150,113
296,259	2,181,037	1,750,056	11,678,265	. .	755,889	1,364,034
4,925,889	2,866,056	5,641,420	8,077,390	1,245	404,934	2,043,283
1,530,581	1,524,345	8,656,799	2,381,028	6,041	89,055	373,898
4,286,231	3,414,672	1,988,979	4,034,033	1,268	275,662	253,963
17,228	. .	12,236	855	1,000	2,038	5,520
1,401	30,582	16,725	. .	. .	. .	85
211,943	61,214	2,918	. .	325	. .	29,686
. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .
72,270,830	96,682,167	242,636,293	349,860,803	14,752,412	12,690,982	39,676,982

			Bales of Cotton Produced.		Pounds of Rice Produced.	
11,212,616	10,179,144	35,254,319	3,947	56,803,227	17,154	2,860,765
482,511	604,518	3,145,542	. .	. .	. .	57,768
4,494,680	2,242,151	10,749,858	. .	21,407,497	. .	477,428
2,130,102	4,052,078	27,941,051	50,545	11,984,786	5,465,868	970,738
1,066,277	2,322,155	16,271,454	300,901	74,285	159,930,613	487,233
1,088,534	3,820,044	30,080,099	499,091	423,924	38,950,691	990,019
2,142,822	8,201,311	58,672,591	758	55,501,196	5,688	2,297,433
1,619,386	7,702,086	52,276,223	194,532	20,148,932	258,854	1,364,378
417	89,637	10,866,373	178,737	26,878	4,425,249	109,897
137,990	1,503,288	22,446,552	484,292	49,960	2,719,856	559,619
294,044	2,965,696	28,754,048	564,429	164,990	2,312,252	657,118
2,981,652	5,278,079	36,214,537	. .	17,113,784	700	1,627,164
199,639	656,183	8,893,939	65,344	218,936	63,179	182,595
1,027	66,586	1,996,809	45,131	998,614	1,075,090	23,247
41,729	199,017	6,028,876	58,072	66,897	88,203	131,917
27,893,426	49,882,973	348,992,271	2,445,779	184,983,906	215,313,497	12,797,329

The total amount of butter and cheese produced in the Slave States in 1850 was 68,634,234 lbs.; and the total amount of hay, 1,137,784 tons.

STATISTICS of DOMESTIC

STATISTICS OF DOMESTIC

Cotton.				Wool.		
Capital Invested. $	Bales of Cotton Consumed.	Value of all Raw Material. $	Value of Entire Products. $	Capital Invested. $	Wool Used. lbs.	Value of Raw Material. $
32.	33	34	35	36	37	38
4,176,920	37,778	1,985,973	3,591,989	4,459,370	12,538,786	3,838,292
28,455,630	223,607	11,289,309	19,712,461	9,089,342	22,229,952	8,671,671
10,950,500	83,026	4,839,429	8,830,619	2,437,700	3,604,103	1,267,329
1,483,500	14,437	666,645	1,109,524	494,274	1,510,289	548,367
4,219,100	39,483	2,500,062	4,257,522	3,773,950	9,414,100	3,325,709
6,675,000	50,713	3,484,579	6,447,120	1,013,000	4,103,370	1,463,900
4,528,925	44,162	3,152,530	5,322,262	3,005,064	7,560,379	3,282,718
202,500	2,243	114,415	196,100	886,300	2,328,100	830,684
297,000	4,270	237,060	394,700	870,220	1,657,726	578,423
43,000	675	28,220	44,200	171,545	413,350	120,486
. .	. .	. .	. .	134,500	396,964	115,367
3,329,700	31,531	1,573,110	2,596,356	467,600	1,438,434	495,940
. .	. .	. .	. .	94,000	162,250	43,402
. .	. .	. .	. .	10,000	14,500	3,500
. .	. .	. .	. .	31,225	134,200	32,630
. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .
. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .
. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .
. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .
64,361,775	531,925	29,871,332	52,502,853	26,958,090	67,506,503	24,618,618
£13,408,703	. .	£6,223,194	£10,938,094	£5,616,268	. .	£5,128,878
1,908,900	17,785	828,375	1,486,384	392,649	1,554,110	488,899
460,100	4,730	312,068	538,439	148,500	393,000	204,172
2,321,000	24,285	1,232,579	2,220,504	244,000	430,300	105,568
1,058,800	13,617	531,903	831,342	18,000	30,000	13,950
857,200	9,929	295,971	748,338	. .	. .	. .
1,736,156	20,230	900,419	2,135,044	68,000	153,816	30,392
239,000	3,760	180,907	273,439	249,820	673,900	205,287
669,600	6,411	297,500	510,624	10,900	6,200	1,675
. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .
38,000	430	21,500	30,500	. .	. .	. .
651,900	5,208	237,081	382,260	. .	. .	16,000
102,000	2,160	86,446	142,900	20,000	80,000	. .
16,500	170	8,975	16,637	. .	. .	. .
80,000	600	30,000	49,920	. .	. .	10,000
. .	. .	. .	. .	8,000	30,000	
10,139,156	109,315	4,963,724	9,366,331	1,159,860	3,351,326	1,135,943
£2,112,324	. .	£1,034,109	£1,951,318	£241,637	. .	£236,654

MANUFACTURES, 1850.

MANUFACTURES, 1850.

	IRON.			MANUFACTURES OF ALL KINDS.		
Value of Entire Products. $	Capital Invested.. $	Value of Raw Material. $	Value of Entire Products. $	Hands Employed.	Capital Invested. $	Value of Annual Products. $
39	40	41	42	43	44	45
7,030,604	6,358,782	3,553,109	7,943,868	199,349	99,904,405	237,597,249
12,770,565	2,578,350	1,464,839	2,959,078	165,938	83,357,642	151,137,145
2,127,745	238,700	187,560	388,110	27,092	18,242,114	23,164,503
1,164,446	2,577,093	954,705	1,876,247	37,311	22,184,730	39,713,586
6,465,216	1,335,900	999,374	2,064,560	47,770	23,890,348	45,110,102
2,381,825	636,800	370,017	951,105	20,881	12,923,176	22,093,258
5,321,866	19,613,415	11,593,285	20,329,301	146,766	94,473,810	155,044,910
1,579,161	357,920	266,972	692,817	8,445	5,001,377	8,570,920
1,111,027	4,187,450	2,434,320	5,401,392	51,489	29,019,538	62,647,259
205,802	171,900	95,743	219,190	14,342	7,941,602	18,922,651
206,572	325,400	187,830	511,385	12,065	6,385,387	17,236,073
753,300	364,100	127,509	301,616	28,078	14,700,452	24,664,135
90,242	210,450	105,865	309,697	9,290	6,534,250	10,970,894
13,000	5,500	2,524	8,500	1,707	1,292,875	3,551,783
87,992	131,350	95,180	243,195	6,089	3,382,148	9,293,068
. .	5,000	8,530	20,740	3,964	1,006,197	12,862,522
. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .
. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .
. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .
41,309,363	39,098,110	22,447,362	44,211,801	780,576	430,240,051	842,586,058
£8,606,117	£8,145,439	£4,676,533	£9,210,791	. .	£89,633,343	£175,538,762
841,013	1,776,171	1,046,769	2,451,335	29,109	18,109,993	29,705,387
251,010	388,509	178,352	322,462	3,888	2,978,945	4,649,296
295,140	2,573,750	1,277,526	2,554,527	30,124	14,753,143	32,477,702
23,750	139,500	64,355	92,347	12,444	7,252,225	9,111,245
. .	185,700	29,128	87,683	7,009	6,056,865	7,063,513
87,750	70,200	. .	118,884	8,378	5,460,483	9,086,525
318,819	1,602,900	736,485	1,648,053	24,385	12,350,734	24,588,483
6,310	1,915,950	730,551	1,611,043	12,032	6,975,279	9,728,438
. .	255,000	75,300	312,500	6,437	5,318,074	7,320,948
. .	100,000	50,370	117,400	3,173	1,883,420	2,972,038
. .	230,125	111,855	301,126	4,936	3,450,606	4,538,878
56,000	848,100	254,990	719,795	16,850	9,079,095	23,749,265
. .	. .	. .	. .	903	324,005	607,436
. .	. .	. .	. .	991	547,060	668,338
15,000	16,000	8,400	55,000	1,066	539,290	1,165,538
1,894,792	10,101,896	4,559,081	10,392,155	161,725	95,029,877	165,433,030
£394,748	£2,104,561	£948,808	£2,165,032	. .	£19,797,891	£34,465,214

COMMERCE, 1859; BANKS, 1861.

COMMERCE, 1859.			BANKS, Dates nearest to January 1, 1861.			
Tonnage. No.	Exports. $	Imports. $	No. of Banks and Branches	Capital. $	Deposits. $	Loans and Discounts. $
46	47	48	49	50	51	52
1,628,651	117,539,825	229,181,349	303	111,441,320	104,070,273	200,351,332
829,033	18,158,818	43,184,500	174	64,519,200	27,804,699	107,417,323
34,485	9,793	23,227	52	5,016,000	1,187,991	8,591,688
119,615	21,938	5,036	49	7,884,412	5,741,465	14,909,174
115,786	1,144,311	491,067	74	21,512,176	5,574,900	27,856,785
40,471	310,813	1,819,068	91	20,865,569	3,553,104	26,719,877
284,743	5,375,226	14,520,331	90	25,565,582	26,167,843	50,327,157
7,033	1,136,565	1,802,668	46	4,029,240	787,834	6,946,523
125,057	263,011	267,846	52	6,890,839	4,039,614	11,100,462
. .	. .	. .	37	4,343,210	1,700,479	7,675,861
73,485	1,269,385	93,588	74	5,251,225	697,037	387,229
739,846	3,240,839	2,157,086	68	7,506,890	2,411,022	12,654,794
74,370	3,624,624	1,067,339	4	755,465	375,397	892,949
. .	. .	. .	12	460,450	527,378	724,228
24,864	699,088	28,946	108	7,620,000	3,085,813	7,592,361
80,650	15,919,188	11,163,558	. .	No returns.	No returns.	No returns.
. .	. .	. .	. .	No returns.	No returns.	No returns.
7,166	5,000	2,097	. .	No returns.	No returns.	No returns.
. .	. .	. .	1	52,000	2,695	48,256
4,185,855	168,718,424	305,807,716	1,235	293,713,578	187,727,544	484,195,999
. .	£35,149,671	£63,709,940	. .	£61,190,328	£39,109,905	£108,874,166
84,496	6,722,162	1,116,193	65	16,005,156	7,729,652	24,975,792
22,939	49,511	529	12	1,640,775	976,226	3,150,215
251,000	9,236,399	9,713,921	31	12,568,962	8,874,180	20,898,762
42,918	435,409	168,645	30	6,626,478	1,487,273	12,213,272
62,567	17,972,589	1,438,535	20	14,962,062	4,165,615	27,801,912
40,478	15,562,154	624,645	29	16,689,560	4,738,289	16,776,282
29,626	. .	. .	45	12,835,670	5,662,892	25,284,869
13,046	. .	. .	34	8,067,037	4,324,799	11,751,019
219,881	101,666,538	18,349,516	13	24,496,866	19,777,812	35,401,609
3,194	. .	. .	. .	No returns.	No returns.	No returns.
52,821	28,933,662	778,164	8	4,901,000	4,851,153	13,570,027
60,759	. .	. .	38	9,082,951	3,357,176	15,461,192
. .	. .	. .	. .	No returns.	No returns.	No returns.
20,209	3,192,362	286,971	2	300,000	129,518	464,630
12,187	3,855,909	468,162	. .	No returns.	No returns.	No returns.
916,121	187,626,686	32,945,281	327	128,176,517	66,074,585	207,749,581
. .	£39,088,892	£6,863,600	. .	£26,703,441	£13,765,538	£43,281,162

THE TERRITORIES.

In addition to the *States* above particularized, there are eight districts of land known by the generic name of "The Territories," which will be entitled to admission into the Union as soon as they attain the population necessary for one representative in Congress. These Territories are as follows:—

Name.	Area.	Population, 1860.		
		Free.	Slave.	Total
Colorado	185,000	34,197	..	34,197
Dakotah	135,000	4,839	..	4,839
Nebraska	283,000	28,832	10	28,842
Neveda	175,000	6,857	..	6,857
New Mexico Arizona	256,000	93,517	24	93,541
Utah	187,000	40,266	29	40,295
Washington	123,000	11,578	..	11,578
Total	1,344,000	220,086	63	220,149
Add:—				
Free States	993,684	18,904,619	..	18,904,619
Slave States	851,448	8,280,490	3,949,557	12,230,047
District of Columbia	60	71,895	3,181	75,076
Total Area and Population of the United States	3,189,192	27,477,090	3,952,801	31,429,891

(K.)

CENSUS OF THE UNITED STATES, 1850 and 1860.

When Chapter I. of Part III. was being written the official Returns of Population were not published, and the figures there given were compiled from the Returns of the separate States, but since then the Federal Census Department at Washington has issued its official statement. We have divided the document into three portions, in order to show at a glance the relative populations of the North, Border, and Southern States:—

FREE STATES AND TERRITORIES.

	1860.	1850.
California	380,015	92,597
Connecticut	460,151	370,792
Illinois	1,711,753	851,470
Indiana	1,350,479	988,416
Iowa	674,948	192,214
Kansas	107,110	.. ..
Maine	628,276	583,169
Massachusetts	1,231,065	994,514
Michigan	749,112	397,654
Minnesota	162,122	6,077
New Hampshire	326,072	317,976
New Jersey	672,031	489,555*
New York	3,887,542	3,097,394
Ohio	2,339,599	1,980,329
Oregon	52,464	13,324
Pennsylvania	2,906,370	2,311,786
Rhode Island	174,621	147,545
Vermont	315,116	314,120
Wisconsin	775,873	305,391
Colorado Territory	34,197	.. ..
Dakotah „	4,839	.. ..
Nebraska „	28,842†	.. ..
Neveda „	6,857	.. ..
New Mexico „	93,541‡	61,547
Utah „	40,295§	11,380‖
Washington „	11,578	.. ..
Total	19,124,868¶	13,527,250**

* 236 slaves. † 10 slaves. ‡ 24 slaves. § 29 slaves.
‖ 26 slaves. ¶ Inclusive of 63 slaves. ** Inclusive of 262 slaves.

BORDER SLAVE STATES.

	1860.		1850.	
	Free.	Slave.	Free.	Slave.
*Arkansas	324,323	111,104	162,797	47,100
Delaware	110,420	1,798	89,242	2,290
Kentucky	930,223	225,490	771,424	210,981
Maryland	599,846	87,188	492,666	90,368
Missouri	1,058,352	114,965	594,622	87,422
*North Carolina	661,586	331,081	580,491	288,548
*Tennessee	834,063	275,784	763,258	239,459
*Virginia	1,105,196	490,887	949,133	472,528
District of Columbia	71,895	3,181	48,000	3,687
Total ..	5,695,904	1,641,478	4,451,683	1,442,383

SOUTHERN, OR SECEDING, SLAVE STATES.

Alabama	529,164	435,132	428,779	342,844
Florida	78,686	61,753	48,135	39,310
Georgia	595,097	462,230	524,503	381,682
Louisiana	376,913	332,520	272,953	244,809
Mississippi ..	354,699	436,696	296,648	309,878
South Carolina	301,271	402,541	283,523	384,984
Texas	420,651	180,388	154,431	58,161
Total ..	2,656,481	2,311,260	2,008,972	1,761,668
Grand Total of United States	27,477,020	3,952,801	19,987,593	3,204,313

* These States have joined the "Southern Confederacy" since its first formation.

LONDON:
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AND CHARING CROSS.

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Government of Maharashtra
on 02 July, 2018